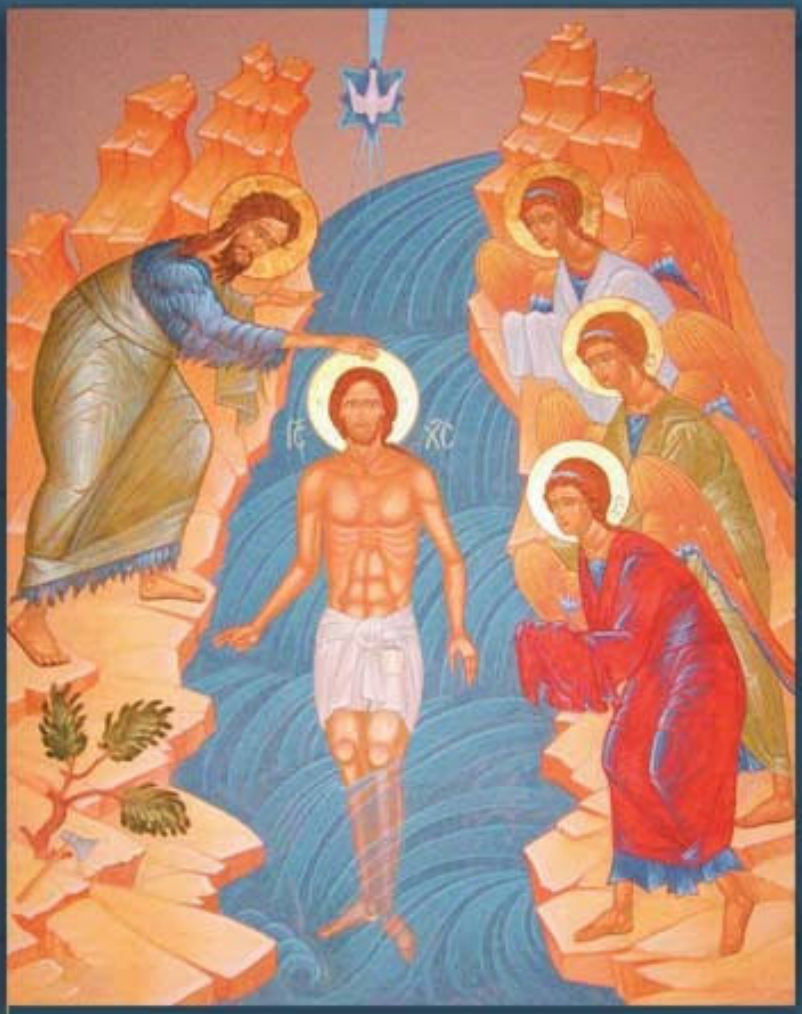
The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany

The Eastern Liturgical Tradition



Nicholas Denysenko

ASHGATE

LITURGY, WORSHIP AND SOCIETY

THE BLESSING OF WATERS AND EPIPHANY

To Tresja and Sophia

The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany

The Eastern Liturgical Tradition

NICHOLAS E. DENYSENKO
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, USA

ASHGATE

© Nicholas E. Denysenko 2012

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Nicholas E. Denysenko has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Wey Court East
Union Road
Farnham
Surrey, GU9 7PT
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
Suite 420
101 Cherry Street
Burlington
VT 05401-4405
USA

www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Denysenko, Nicholas E.
The blessing of waters and epiphany : the Eastern
liturgical tradition. -- (Liturgy, worship and society)
1. Holy water. 2. Eastern churches--Liturgy.
3. Theophanies--History of doctrines. 4. Presence of God--
History of doctrines. 5. Trinity--History of doctrines.
I. Title II. Series
264'.015-dc23

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Denysenko, Nicholas E.
The blessing of waters and Epiphany : the Eastern liturgical tradition / Nicholas E. Denysenko.
p. cm. -- (Liturgy, worship, and society series)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-4078-9 (hardcover) -- ISBN 978-1-4094-4079-6 (ebook) 1. Epiphany. 2. Holy water. 3. Benediction. 4. Water--Religious aspects--Orthodox Eastern Church. I. Title.
BV50.E7D46 2012
264'.01909--dc23

ISBN 9781409440789 (hbk) 2012005338
ISBN 9781409440796 (ebk)

Printed and bound in Great Britain by the
MPG Books Group, UK.

Contents

List of Tables *vii*
Foreword *ix*
Preface *xi*
Acknowledgements *xv*
List of Abbreviations *xvii*

1 Introduction 1

2 Early History of the Blessing of Waters 17

3 History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 1 (8th–10th Centuries) 27

4 History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 2 (11th–13th Centuries) 47

5 History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 3 (14th–16th Centuries) 67

6 The Origins of the "Great are You" Prayer 83

7 Memory and Praise of the Lord's Theophany 103

8 Epiclesis and the Gift of the Holy Spirit 125

9 Pastoral Considerations 169

10 Conclusion 191

Appendix A *199*
Appendix B *201*
Appendix C *202*
Appendix D *204*
Appendix E *207*
Appendix F *208*
Appendix G *210*
Bibliography *211*
Index *223*

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Tables

2.1	Blessing of Waters in the Georgian Lectionary	20
2.2	Prehistory Summary Fourth–Seventh Centuries	24
3.1	Liturgical Sources, 8th–10th Centuries	29
3.2	Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.494*	30
3.3	Blessing of Waters in *San Lazaro 457*	32
3.4	Blessing of waters in BAR	34
3.5	Blessing of Waters in *Sinai 957*	38
3.6	Blessing of waters in *Sinai 958*	40
3.7	Troparia in *Grottaferrata Gb X*	41
4.1	Liturgical Sources, 11th–13th Centuries	50
4.2	Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.495*	51
4.3	Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.499*	52
4.4	Blessing of Waters in *Pontifical of Michael the Great*	55
4.5	Troparia in *Sinai 966*	59
4.6	Stages One & Two Compared	65
5.1	Liturgical Sources, 14th–16th Centuries	67
5.2	Alleluia, Troparion in *Sinai 991, Sinai 974*	72
5.3	Stages 1–2–3 Compared	74
5.4	Blessing of Waters, Eighth to Sixteenth Centuries	78
6.1	Structure of "Great are You" in Baptism and Epiphany	86
6.2	Euchological Texts of Angelic Praise Compared	88
6.3	Comparison of Baptismal Epicleses (BAR nos. 122.2, 122.4)	91
6.4	Comparison of Epicletic Texts	96
6.5	Hypothesis on Origins of "Great are You"	99
7.1	Comparison of Ektene Petitions	105
7.2	Prologues in *Sinai 974*	112
8.1	Example of Evolution of Poetic "Todays"	134
8.2	Rite of Communion of Sanctified Water, Great Sanctification	151
8.3	Texts Accompanying the Plunging of the Cross	160

9.1 Models for Contemporary Blessing of Waters 178
9.2 Short Order for the Blessing of Waters 179
9.3 Order for Blessing of Waters: Roman Catholics 182
9.4 Anglican "Service for the Festival of the Baptism of Christ" 184

Foreword

Nicholas Denysenko has given us a thorough and clear analysis of the historical evolution of the Theophany Blessing of Waters and an important contribution to the understanding of its theological significance. His interest in the topic surfaced during one of my seminars at The Catholic University of America entitled, "The Holy Spirit in Liturgical Celebration." As the reader will discover in the pages that follow, the pursuit of the Holy Spirit's role in the liturgical services leads inexorably to Christ just as Irenaeus suggested many centuries ago. God, says Irenaeus, works in the divine economy always by the use of both hands, the Son and the Spirit.[1] So it is that we are drawn into the Trinitarian life by the dual embrace of the Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit and by listening to the silence of the Father in the Word-made-flesh and sharing intimacy with the divine transcendence in the Spirit who permeates everything that exists. The pneumatological dimension of the liturgy and its Christological dynamic reveal the Trinitarian structure of salvation itself and thus of its epiphany in the liturgical action of the Church.

There can be no better place to start on this journey of Trinitarian discovery than the celebration of the Lord's baptism on the feast of Theophany, known in the Byzantine tradition as the revelation of the Trinity. Under the influence of Vatican II the Churches of the West (Rome, Milan, and Toledo) have restored this feast to its proper dignity. Even so, it remains overshadowed by the Epiphany to the nations commemorated in the visit of the magi. It is no wonder that Leo the Great could not understand why some Christians baptized on 6 January, thereby seeming to prefer the visit of astrologers to the death and rising of Christ.[2] To him only the annual Pascha of the Lord's death and rising had the theological weight to ground the baptismal solemnity. Of course Leo is right about Pascha but his view of the January feast is anemic even when he admits that some associate this day also with the baptism of Christ by John.[3]

At the Lord's baptism, on the feast of Theophany, the voice of the Father is heard, the Son is revealed in his submission to John's baptism, and the Spirit's descent is given visible form leading Christ to the battleground made arid by our ancient defeat. Thereafter, Jesus will speak of another baptism he must yet endure, his Cross, the culmination of the struggle that will end in victorious submission. Surely Leo is right that the January feast is not the fullness of the Paschal Mystery

---

[1] Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against the Heresies* 5.6.1 (SCh 153: 72).

[2] Leo the Great, Epistola 16: Ad universos episcopos per Siciliam constitutos, 1 (J. Migne (ed.) Patrologia Latina, 54: 696).

[3] Ibid., 2 (Patrologia Latina, 54: 697).

but it is its starting point just as it is the culmination of the Incarnation Mystery. By the prompting of the Spirit both divinity and humanity are led to the Cross and Resurrection. By the continuing Pentecostal breath of the same Spirit human beings in every age and corner of the world are baptized into Christ and are gathered by the Father's Hands into the Trinitarian embrace of Paschal salvation.

This is the glory we discover when we give ourselves to the liturgical celebration by means of full, conscious, and active participation. It is the material the reader of this book will see evolving in the historical development of the Theophany feast and its water blessing. The author has traced this evolution with precision and scholarly acumen. He also has put it together for us as a theological reflection on the operation of the Holy Spirit and of the Incarnate Word leading us to the unseen God and to the mysterious sharing of Trinitarian life. In this study of the blessing of waters the reader will discover new insights into this Trinitarian view of the Church's liturgical action. Nicholas Denysenko's painstaking analysis of many manuscripts and documents traces its centuries-long development. Then he puts forth the theological significance this blessing has in our own age. This is the sort of liturgical theologizing envisioned by Robert Taft when he speaks of the tradition, not as a set of past practices to be duplicated, but as a "genetic vision of the present."[4] I am grateful to the author for this exemplary analysis of an ancient text and its theological import. It will help many to enter into the Blessing of Waters at Theophany as active and informed participants in its mystery. This liturgical theology will reward readers both Eastern and Western.

Dominic E. Serra
The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.

[4] Robert Taft, "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology," in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 1997), 191.

Preface

Growing up as an altar server in the Orthodox Church, I frequently assisted my grandfather, a priest, in celebrating the liturgy. Eastern liturgy, with its sounds, images, smells, and emphatic gestures, can captivate almost anyone. The blessing of Epiphany waters always captivated me because of the reverence the faithful exhibited towards the water. As Eastern Christians living in the West, we understood the common cultural attitude towards "holy water" as being something one should bless oneself with on entering the church, or as a powerful weapon to be used against demons in exorcisms. However, these were not customs observed in our churches. Instead, in the midst of oppressively cold winters, we would gather in church to bless water. I would watch my grandfather carefully recite a prayer of great length before a large basin of water in the middle of the church. He would then submerge a cross into the water, and we would repeatedly sing the festal hymn of the day (Troparion, "When You Were Baptized"), while he used a brush to sprinkle the people and the whole church with the water, preceded by his servers, bearing torches. This special liturgy celebrated on a feast we simply called "Йордан" ignited my curiosity for several reasons, among them the reason as to why we used such a long and solemn prayer when it wasn't the Eucharist and why we plunged a cross into the water.[1] We also heard stories about parishes that carved beautiful crosses of ice for the water blessing. What I found most interesting was that people would approach the water reverently, and drink it in church with the hope that it would heal their sicknesses. Everyone would bring an empty jar to church, fill it with water, and take it home. People would drink the water at home through illness, invite the pastor over to bless their home, and use the water for spiritual protection against evil spirits. The Church instructed us not to dispose of the water. If water blessed on Epiphany remained from the previous year, we were to pour it into a plant or garden.

As a graduate student of theology, the blessing of Epiphany waters opened many new doors for me. I learned that the long prayer of my childhood was largely the same prayer used for blessing baptismal waters, and probably originated as a Eucharistic prayer. The text of the prayer suggested that Christ himself blessed the waters, a form of epiclesis uncommon in Byzantine liturgy and theology. As I studied the liturgy's history in the Byzantine tradition, I found prayer structures and texts dating to the eighth century revealing a rich theology of God saving humanity through water, grounded by the Old Testament. Engaging the method

[1] Another topic of debate was whether it was appropriate to bless the water with a flaming, three-candled torch instead of a cross.

of close reading, the long prayer ("Great are You") was intimately related to Baptism, and I discovered and concluded that the prayer literally asks God to deliver baptismal blessings to today's liturgical participants, anew. The result of my work was a doctoral dissertation exploring the history of the blessing of Epiphany waters in the Byzantine tradition and an analysis of the theology of the "Great are You" prayer.

The product that follows in the forthcoming pages significantly expands my original work in the Byzantine tradition. At my editor's excellent suggestion, I added the blessing of Epiphany waters celebrated by the West Syrian, Armenian, Maronite, and Coptic traditions to broaden the context of the history and theology. My research shows that the blessing of Epiphany waters was a significant solemnity in most Eastern Christian communities, punctuated by the "Great are You" prayer and the ritual action of blessing the waters by submerging diverse objects, often a cross, and sometimes also myrrh, torches, and flaming coals. The convergence of euchology, music, incense, movement, and ritual action demonstrates a celebration remembering Jesus' entrance into the Jordan river, which delivers salvation to humankind. When Jesus entered the Jordan, everything changed. The Jordan became a conduit of sanctification because divinity in the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had entered it and eternally transformed its waters. From antiquity, Christians have remembered Jesus' historic blessing of the Jordan and have entreated him to come again, so they could be sprinkled, anointed, and drink of these saving waters. In the following pages, I argue that the blessing of Epiphany waters is an organic, liturgical by-product of Baptism. The annual Theophany feast (often called the feast of "Lights" in antiquity) was a naturally suitable time for baptizing catechumens. The baptized faithful, remembering Jesus' baptism, received baptismal blessings anew by receiving the saving waters. It was a celebration of and for the whole Church.

This ancient practice of blessing waters on Epiphany, traced to the fourth century in Antioch and Egypt, persists today. In presenting this work, I have consulted many sources, mostly Byzantine. In presenting the West Syrian, Armenian, Maronite, and Coptic rites, I rely upon translations. For all traditions, there is more to the history of the blessing of Epiphany waters, and I hope liturgical historians might use this work as a source of inspiration to continue telling the story. I am unable to address every historical issue or lacuna in the available space, and hope to continue this work in the future.

As we continue presenting the history of the blessing of Epiphany waters, my childhood fascination with the hope faithful Christians invest in the waters continues to captivate me. Participants hope to receive forgiveness of their sins and healing of soul and body when drinking these waters. The Church uses powerful images to illustrate the impact God has on the waters when Jesus enters them. When celebrants submerge a cross, a candlestick with three flaming torches, or flaming charcoals into the water, it is an illustration of encountering God in Christ. More significantly, water is restored to its original state of goodness, capable of

saving humanity. Most Christians have an innate awareness of God's favor for water, and thus approach in hope.

God has shared stewardship over the world's water with humanity. Christians can bolster the hope all humans have in God's love for them if they exercise the kind of responsible stewardship over water that would be suitable for God's presence. This is a way of saying that liturgical history and theology can see beyond itself, and can contribute to the greater good of the world. Readers interested in liturgical history, the intricacies of divine activity in the liturgy, ritual analysis, and sacramental theology will discover plenty of material to ponder in this study. I hope that all readers might discover some of what captivated me as a child, and holds my attention today: the capacity of water, as God's favored element of creation, to save humanity.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Acknowledgements

Several friends and colleagues warned me that the task of converting a dissertation into a book is time consuming and frustrating. My experience on the marketing side of publishing should have prepared me for the rigors of finding new ways to articulate old thoughts, updating research over a period of five years, and accepting the final version of a project that could persist into eternity. No creative work is completed without the assistance and contributions of others. Many mentors and colleagues have supported my research and endorsed it with enthusiasm. I'm especially grateful for the encouragement and support of Rev. Dominic Serra, SLD, Associate Professor of Liturgical Studies at The Catholic University of America in Washington, DC (CUA). My project began as a research paper in Dr Serra's doctoral seminar on the Holy Spirit in the liturgy in 2004 and he directed the original dissertation. I am particularly grateful to Rev. Michael Plekon, PhD, Baruch College, for being my mentor in theological studies. Fr Michael has reviewed countless paper drafts and shared precious professional hints for years. Thanks are also due to numerous other colleagues and friends in the field: the members of the Christian Initiation Seminar of the North American Academy of Liturgy, who provided valuable feedback on seminar papers devoted to this topic; my colleagues in the Theological Studies Department at Loyola Marymount University, whose encouragement is unparalleled; and my students, who tirelessly engage me in conversation about the theological significance of water in liturgy, sacraments, and life.

Thanks are due to Sarah Lloyd of Ashgate, for her support of this project, and for enthusiastically responding to my queries and messages, and also to the Ashgate editorial staff for their professionalism and quality work.

Last, but never least, I thank my wife, Tresja, and daughter Sophia, for supporting me as I spent countless hours completing this manuscript. I devote this work to them.

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Abbreviations

Arranz-I Miguel Arranz, 'Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 6: l' "illumination" de la nuit de Pâques', *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 51 (1985) : 60–86.
Arranz-II Miguel Arranz, 'Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 7: l'"illumination" de la nuit de Pâques', *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 52 (1986) : 145–178.

BAR Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (eds), *L'eucologio barberini gr. 336*, 2nd edn (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2000).
BELS Bibliotheca *Ephemerides liturgicae*, subsidia.

CCSL Corpus Christianorum, series Latina.
CPL Clavis Patrum Latinorum, ed. E. Dekkers (Turnhout, Brepols: 1995).
CPG *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols, Maurice Geerard and F. Glorie (eds) (CC) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987).

DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.*
Dmitrievsky-I A. Dmitrievsky (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Рукописей*, vol. 1: Typica, (Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1895. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).
Dmitrievsky-II A. Dmitrievsky (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Рукописей*, vol. 2: Euchologia, (Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1901. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).
Dmitrievsky-III A. Dmitrievsky (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Рукописей*, vol. 3: Typika (Petrograd: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1917. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).

Evergetis Typikon Robert H. Jordan (ed.),*The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: September–February*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.5 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000).

GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.

OCA Orientalia christiana analecta.
OCP *Orientalia christiana periodica*.

Passarelli G. Passarelli (ed.), *L'eucologio cryptense Γ.Β. VII (sec. X)*. Analekta Vlatadon, 36 (Thessalonica, 1982).
PG J. Migne, (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca.*

SCh Sources chrétiennes.

TPA 'Typikon of Patriarch Alexis', A. Pentkovsky (ed.), *Типикон Патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси* (Moscow: Izdatelstva Moskovskoy Patriarchii, 2001).
TGC 'Typikon of the Great Church', Juan Mateos (ed.), *Le Typikon de la grande église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X siécle*, Vol. 1. OCA, 165 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1962).

Vidalis Markos Vidalis, 'La bénédiction des eaux de la fête de l'Épiphanie, selon le rite grec de l'église orthodoxe', in *La prière liturgique.* Conférences Saint-Serge XLVIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 27–30, Juin 2000, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 115 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2001).

Chapter 1
Introduction

For centuries, Christians of the Eastern churches have celebrated a solemn blessing of waters on the Epiphany feast of January 6.[1] Eastern Christians are familiar with the celebration of the blessing of waters on this feast, as people come to the church to drink the blessed water and take it home for use throughout the year.[2] A Google search of images yields a fascinating picture of the festal celebration. In one photo, a bishop tosses a cross into the ocean. Several photos show a celebration of the blessing of waters on a body of water covered with ice, where the local community has cut the image of a cross into the water. Another photo shows an image of a participant who has retrieved a cross thrown into the water. In some communities, a cross made of ice is carved for the celebration. The Epiphany feast occurs soon after Christmas and the civil New Year, and evokes scintillating images, especially in cold climates. In the Byzantine rite, communities gather to celebrate Vespers with the Liturgy of St Basil on the eve of January 6.

The blessing of waters on Epiphany is profoundly visual, but it also holds significant theological significance for Eastern liturgy. The contents of the ritual of the blessing of waters constitute a sacramental event related to Baptism and the Eucharist. The ritual contains an ancient prayer used by the Armenian, Byzantine, West Syrian, and Coptic churches called "Great are You." The blessings requested by the epiclesis of the "Great are You" prayer illustrate the theological significance of the blessing of waters for participants:

> … Make it a source of incorruption, a gift of sanctification, a remission of sins, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons … that all who draw from it and partake of it may have it for the cleansing of their soul and body, for the healing of their passions, for the sanctification of their dwellings, and for every purpose that is expedient.[3]

---

[1] "Epiphany" is the preferred term in the West. As "Theophany" is preponderant in the Byzantine liturgical manuscript tradition, I will occasionally employ it as a term. As a global rule for the book, "Epiphany" and Theophany" are interchangeable synonyms.

[2] See, for example, Baby Varghese, *West Syrian Liturgical Theology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 141–2.

[3] *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 357. This English translation of the festal Menaion constitutes the basis for all references made to contemporary practice throughout this study. *The Festal Menaion* tends to follow the prevalent Greek practice, primarily using the edition of the Menaia published in Athens in 1960–61 (Preface, p. 12). The editors also consulted the Typikon of

The blessings received through participation in the blessing of the waters capture and express the goal of the Christian life: protection from temptation, bodily and spiritual cleansing, and ultimately, sanctification.

The Armenian, Coptic and West Syrian rites have their own liturgical components particular to their native traditions, but like the Byzantine rite, they use the "Great are You" prayer and also ritually plunge items into the water to connote Jesus' presence and consecration of the font. Some Coptic churches of antiquity held Epiphany tanks that were used for the ritual, though now a stone basin is usually placed in the middle of the nave for the water blessing.[4] In the Coptic and West Syrian rites, the celebrant makes the sign of the cross several times over the water, and the Copts call upon Christ himself to enter the waters. Participants drink the water, anoint themselves with it, and take it home to use throughout the year until the next occasion for blessing the waters.

The celebration of the blessing of waters in the Byzantine rite is not limited to the "Great are You" prayer with a list of spiritual blessings. The liturgical celebration also contains hymns, biblical readings, a special synapte or ektene of litanic biddings pertaining to the water accompanied by a silent presbyteral prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," the "Great are You" prayer, a prayer of inclination, the plunging of a cross into the water, and concluding hymnody. In some sources, a lengthy poetic text called a "Prologue" occurs immediately prior to the "Great are You" prayer.

In contemporary Byzantine practice, the blessing of waters is normally celebrated after the prayer behind the ambo at the end of the Liturgy which follows Vespers on the eve of the Epiphany feast on January 6.[5] In some places, a second blessing of waters is celebrated outdoors on the day of the feast, occasionally during Matins after the Great Doxology,[6] or during the Eucharistic liturgy following the prayer behind the ambo.[7]

St Sabas on matters of ritual (ibid). The editors also note that there is "no fully critical edition of the Menaia – nor, indeed, of any major service book used by the Orthodox Church" (ibid). The present study will also make use of the *Типікон* (Moscow: Publishing Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2002) and *Праздничная Минея* (Moscow: Synodalnaya Typographia, 1901) to note discrepancies between the Greek and Russian practices.

[4] O.H.E Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of her Sacraments*, Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte (Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1967), pp. 250–51.

[5] "After the prayer behind the ambo at the end of the liturgy, the clergy go in procession, with lights and incense, to the place where the Blessing of the Waters is to be held, the priest holding in his hand the Precious cross," *The Festal Menaion*, p. 348.

[6] "The second blessing of the waters is sometimes held at the end of Matins … after the Troparion at the end of the Doxology," ibid., p. 384.

[7] "After the prayer behind the ambo, the second Blessing of the Waters takes place … the clergy and people proceed in procession to a nearby river or spring, or to the sea shore, and the Blessing is held there in the open air," ibid., p. 387.

The contemporary Greek and Russian rituals of the Byzantine liturgical family are similar in structure and content, but also have notable differences. The Russian version does not mention a second blessing of waters, nor does it include a Prologue, though many Russian parishes celebrate two water blessings.[8] The subtle differences among the Eastern liturgical traditions in the celebration of the blessing of waters raises questions on the history of the water blessing and provides fertile ground for analyzing its theological significance.

This book explores the history and theology of blessed water by presenting the history of the blessing of waters in the Eastern liturgical tradition from the eighth through the sixteenth centuries. The historical analysis focuses on the Byzantine rite due to the large number of extant liturgical sources currently available. In presenting the blessing of waters in the Armenian, West Syrian, Maronite, and Coptic traditions, I employ the method of comparative liturgy to present a broad picture of the historical development of the water blessing, and to observe how the variants of the blessing of waters compare.

The History of the Blessing of Waters

Constructing a liturgical history of a prominent rite celebrated in several liturgical families requires some patience and latitude. My historical study begins in the fourth century, based largely on patristic and historical references to the blessing of waters, since there is no extant euchological source outlining the blessing of waters anterior to the eighth century. Enough evidence is available to warrant a chapter devoted to this prehistorical period, and chapter two begins this historical examination.

I have organized the rest of the liturgical history in three distinct historical periods with the titles: Stages One (eighth to tenth centuries), Two (eleventh to thirteenth centuries), and Three (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries). Stage One provides a look at the earliest euchological evidence from the West Syrian, Armenian, and Byzantine traditions, a good opportunity to employ the comparative liturgical method. My examination of the Byzantine rite begins with the Barberini Euchologion (BAR) of the eighth century, representing the Constantinopolitan cathedral tradition with some Palestinian influence.[9] Stage Two is largely limited to the West Syrian and Byzantine traditions, and illustrates the emerging monastic hegemony in Byzantine liturgical practice exercised by the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition. Stage Three includes evidence from the Maronite tradition, and I have also included the Coptic rite here, even though some of its components are posterior to the sixteenth century.[10] Readers who work through these three historical

---

[8] *Праздничная Минея*, pp. 502–4. *Типікон*, pp. 407–9.

[9] *Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, 2nd ed., eds S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, BELS 80, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2000), BAR hereafter.

[10] The presentation and analysis of the Coptic rite falls outside of these parameters since it is taken from contemporary sources. I have included the Coptic rite in this study

stages should benefit from two primary benefits. First, they will recognize a sense of liturgical development in context and see how each rite develops its tradition of blessing the Epiphany waters. Second, the reader will understand the distinct development of the rite in the Byzantine tradition, in comparison to other Eastern liturgical traditions. Stage Two is the period in which the rite becomes stable under monastic influence, and Stage Three shows that local communities still retain their own native liturgical particularities in celebrating the blessing of waters, even though the predominant liturgical trend is one of increasing rigidity.

As I mentioned above, my emphasis in analyzing the history and theology of the rite is on the Byzantine tradition, due to the abundance of available sources and my own research skills and limitations. Given the complexities inherent in the Byzantine liturgical sources consulted for this study, it will be constructive to review briefly the key events and historical periods that impact the interpretation of the evidence. Miguel Arranz and Robert Taft have established the important stages of development in Byzantine liturgical history.[11] While these are not the only studies that have significantly contributed to interpreting and understanding Byzantine liturgical history, taken together, their summaries suffice for providing an initial hermeneutic.

Arranz concentrates his presentation on the ecclesiastical centers of Palestine and Constantinople, identifying the Persian invasion and devastation of Jerusalem in AD 614 along with the attack of Caliph Hakim in AD 1009 as colossal events impacting hagiopolite liturgical development.[12] For Constantinople, the iconoclast controversy which raged through the eighth and ninth centuries (beginning in AD 726) and the Fourth Crusade (AD 1204) marked the core transformative events.[13] In both centers, normal worship life was disrupted, and followed by a liturgical restoration which resulted in the emergence of modified liturgies. Arranz identifies the supplanting of the Constantinopolitan asmatikos office with the imported Palestinian office as an example, resulting in the relocation of the sacerdotal prayers in the new office.[14]

Taft likewise refers to multiple changes in Constantinopolitan euchology during the Studite era (between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, corresponding to the dates above), though the changes developed only gradually, both in

---

to provide the most comprehensive picture of Eastern liturgical history and theology. The Coptic evidence presented here contains salient theological expressions, but does not significantly impact historical tendencies.

[11] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière, liturgie de l'église universelle,* A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (eds), BELS, 7 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1976) and Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1992).

[12] Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," pp. 45–7.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 51.

Constantinople and also in Southern Italy.[15] Ironically, the Studite impact was also Palestinian-Sabaitic, as Theodore of Studios adopted the modified offices from Palestinian monks, who had flourished during their own period of creativity following the Persian invasion.[16] Hence, the creativity that molded a new shape for Palestinian worship in the wake of crisis lent itself to the Constantinopolitan situation two hundred years later. This Studite influence held sway up until the Fourth Crusade, after which the so-called neo-Sabaitic synthesis,[17] which was really a further modification of the extant Studite synthesis executed by Palestinian monks, became popular and was adopted in almost every place, including Mount Athos with its burgeoning community.[18]

The delineation of these historical stages impacts this study in the following areas: new material imported from a Palestinian provenance begins to fuse with extant Constantinopolitan euchologies in the ninth century; between the ninth and thirteenth centuries Studite sources, especially Constantinopolitan, are increasingly penetrated and shaped by Palestinian Sabaitic material, and exercise considerable influence on worship in the Constantinopolitan milieu; following the Fourth Crusade, a revised, neo-Sabaitic model rises to prominence. As the material is progressively presented, the bearing of these periodical phenomena on the formation of the blessing of waters will be considered, with the qualification that exceptions, additions, and modifications to the accepted model of historical stages are always possible.

In employing the method of comparative liturgy, I will also consider the mutual influence occasionally exchanged between liturgical centers and rites in liturgical history, in this instance, pertaining to West Syrian, Armenian, and Byzantine traditions.[19] Liturgical "byzantinization" of the West Syrian rite occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries when northwest Syria was conquered and occupied by the Byzantine empire.[20] Such byzantinization was temporary and localized, and the West Syrian rite retained its distinctive features, rooted in Antiochene

---

15 Taft, pp. 52–5.

16 Ibid., pp. 56–60. Also see John Thomas, "The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic *Typica*," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia lovaniensia analecta 98 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp. 73–6.

17 Taft offers the following clarification between this and the previous Studite importation of Sabaitic liturgy into Constantinople: "From the eleventh century Palestinian monks reworked the Studite synthesis to suit their own needs. This was especially true of night prayer (the agrypnia) and, later, the canon of daily orthros (matins) and the *pensum* of psalmody" (Taft, p. 79).

18 Ibid., pp. 80–81.

19 On the Greek influence on West Syrian liturgy, see Varghese, pp. 4–6; A. Cody, "The Early History of Octoechos in Syria," in N. Garsoian et al., *East of Byzantium, Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, DC, 1982), pp. 89–113.

20 Varghese, pp. 4–5.

origins and generally celebrated with an austere style, given the difficult political environments in which West Syrian Christians lived.[21]

The Byzantine influence on Armenian liturgy has been the subject of specialized research, particularly in comparing the origins and mutual influence of variants of the anaphora attributed to St Basil of Cappadocia.[22] Gabriele Winkler has challenged the longstanding notion that early Armenian anaphora traditions are heavily influenced by Cappadocian and later Byzantine influences.[23] However, recent scholarship by Hans-Jürgen Feulner on the preparatory rites of the Armenian liturgy demonstrates the Armenian adoption of select Roman and Byzantine liturgical influences.[24] Along with Feulner, Robert Taft has demonstrated that liturgical byzantinization in Armenia was most preponderant in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, evidenced by the Armenian adoption of the Byzantine enarxis and prosthesis rites.[25] The Armenian adoption of Byzantine practices is often hypothesized due to similarities between the two rites, and the

---

[21] See Varghese, pp. 1–9.

[22] The literary corpus on the various versions of Basil's anaphora is large and growing. Here is a sampling of the most recent studies: John Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James: An Investigation into Their Common Origin,* OCA 240 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1992); Anne Vorhes McGowan, "Basilian Anaphoras: Rethinking the Question," in Maxwell Johnson (ed.), *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, pp. 219–62 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2010); Gabriele Winkler, "On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras: A Preliminary Overview," in Roberta R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East: An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2006), pp. 59–86; eadem, "Christology of the Anaphora of Basil in Its Various Redactions, with Some Remarks Concerning the Authorship of Basil," in Bryan Spinks (ed.), foreword Martin Jean, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology and Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2008), pp. 112–26; Maxwell Johnson, "Response to Gabriele Winkler On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras: A Preliminary Overview," in Roberta R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East*, pp. 87–92.

[23] Winkler, "On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras," p. 81.

[24] See Hans-Jürgen Feulner, "On the 'Preparatory Rites' of the Armenian Divine Liturgy," in R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East*, pp. 93–117.

[25] Robert F. Taft, "The Armenian Liturgy: Its Origins and Characteristics," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, Papers delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library at a symposium organized by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, 21–22 May 1994 (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, Seattle : Distributed by University of Washington Press, 1998), pp. 21–2, and idem, "The Armenian "Holy Sacrifice (Surb Patarg)" as a Mirror of Armenian Liturgical History," in *The Armenian Christian Tradition: Scholarly Symposium in Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of His Holiness Karekin I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, December 12, 1996,* OCA 254 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1997), pp. 179, 189–95.

occasional Armenian openness to Byzantine traditions.[26] My study will carefully consider the possibility of mutual exchange between liturgical traditions in light of the extant historical evidence.

In summary, the historical presentation will show that the blessing of waters developed in three important historical stages. The presentation refers to related liturgical and extra-liturgical sources in order to provide a complete synthesis. This study primarily focuses on the deroulement of the rite as a liturgical structure, and secondarily on the evolution of individual liturgical components. The study will identify and analyze new developments, changes and anomalies in the development of the blessing of waters, and will comparatively analyze the relationships of the Eastern rites to one another within each respective historical period. An analysis of most significant highlights of the liturgical structure in each stage will occur in the context of the water blessing's overall development. With regards to the Byzantine rite, the analysis will attend to exchanges and influences between the cathedral and Studite-Sabaitic monastic traditions.

Analysis of the "Great are You" Prayer

The "Great are You" prayer constitutes the core of the blessing of waters on Epiphany and synthesizes its theological expressions.[27] It occupies a prominent position in the ritual of the Armenian, Byzantine, West Syrian, and Coptic rites, and is also used for the blessing of waters for Baptism. Not coincidentally, it also functions as a point of thematic intersection for the Epiphany blessing and Baptism.

The "Great are You" Prayer appears to contain two epicleses, both recited three times in contemporary Byzantine practice.[28] The epicletic blessings, namely the bodily and spiritual sanctification of the participants, are noteworthy. The commonality shared by the baptismal and Epiphany texts suggests their close relationship, especially given the repetitive requests for the forgiveness of sins. When the two versions of "Great are You" diverge, the Epiphany version commences with a series of anamnetic phrases praising God for biblical acts illustrating his economy of salvation through the instrumentality of water, marked as D-3. The so-called second epiclesis (D-4) follows, and tersely repeats the requested blessings. The similarity of the baptismal and Epiphany prayers, and the unicity of sections D-3 and D-4 in the Epiphany version raise important textual questions and warrant analysis.

---

[26] Ibid., p. 109.

[27] See Appendix D, divided into five consecutively numbered sections.

[28] "Therefore, O King who loves mankind, do you yourself be present now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and sanctify this water," and "Do you yourself, O master, now as then sanctify this water by your Holy Spirit" based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

I begin to address these issues by presenting significant contributions on the history and origins of the "Great are You" prayer from scholars who have studied the history of the Byzantine and West Syrian rites of Baptism. My examination will consider scholarly opinions in light of a close reading of the Epiphany version of "Great are You," with special emphasis on the structure of the text and the relationships of its components. I divide the Epiphany "Great are You" prayer into five distinct sections, and then analyze their contents. This section will conclude by proposing a hypothesis on the origins of the Epiphany version of "Great are You," based on a close reading of its textual structure, with reference to its occurrence in the baptismal blessing of waters. My hypothesis concludes by offering an explanation of the liturgical functions of both D-3 and D-4.

The prayer's unique structure and content, and its position as the apogee of the celebration of the blessing of the waters, provide a convenient point of departure for theological analysis. The theological analysis will focus on the prayer's emphasis on Christ and references to the operation of the Trinity. Other prominent themes such as the agency of creation, angelic worship, anamnetic allusions to Scripture, and baptismal motifs will be analyzed and incorporated into a synthetic articulation of the prayer's theology.

Trinitarian Theology and Christology

The structure and content of the ritual reveals issues requiring further examination. In some liturgical components, especially the "Great are You" prayer, there is ambiguity concerning the identity of the specific person being addressed. For example, the incipit of the Byzantine prayer "Lord Jesus Christ" clearly addresses Christ, whereas the incipit of the first Prologue in BAR, "Uncreated Trinity," addresses the entire Trinity. The "Great are You" prayer also appears to address Christ. The ritual's Christological orientation continues in its direct invocation of Christ in the epiclesis, raising questions on the divine operation in the liturgical celebration. A Byzantine liturgical rite that predominantly addresses Christ in its prayers would constitute an anomaly among liturgical celebrations, even though this occasionally occurs in the Byzantine liturgical corpus.[29]

Many Eastern Christian theologians tend to follow the Trinitarian theology crafted by the Cappadocian fathers of the fourth century, synthesized by John Damascene in the eighth century, and hardened by Patriarch Photius in the ninth century.[30] In

[29] "Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος" in the Chrysostom Eucharistic liturgy of BAR no. 12.2 constitutes one of the more prominent instances. For the history of this prayer, see R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 2nd edn, OCA 200 (Rome: Pontificium institutum studiorum orientalium, 1978), pp. 119–48.

[30] See Y. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit,* Vol. 3, trans. David Smith (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1983), pp. 29–78.

John Damascene's synthesis, the Father is the only cause of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit comes from the Father through the Son, and is poured out in him. The Spirit rests in the Word, making him manifest.[31] This expression of Trinitarian operation preserves the monarchical principle of the Father as sole cause, yet accommodates the notion of the Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son, including all three persons of the Trinity in divine movement. Yves Congar asserts that Patriarch Photius "passed over in silence or eliminated numerous patristic texts which were open to the idea that the Son played a part in the eternal coming of the Spirit to consubstantial being."[32] Some contemporary Eastern Christian theologians have clarified their positions by making a distinction between an "eternal and immanent manifestation" and a "voluntary and economic manifestation" of the Spirit.[33] The theology resulting from prayers addressing Christ in the blessing of waters offer a dimension that could significantly contribute to ecumenical discussion towards the resolution of ancient misunderstandings over Trinitarian theology. This liturgical perspective could advance the work already accomplished by the North American Catholic-Orthodox Theological Consultation in 2003, which took an important step for ecumenical dialogue by making several recommendations for having more constructive theological reflection on the issue of the Filioque.[34]

A strict application of the traditional Trinitarian model can prohibit an honest interpretation of liturgical prayer and be easily imposed on liturgical texts. By addressing Christ and invoking him to sanctify the waters by the descent of his Holy Spirit, the Epiphany blessing of waters appears to challenge the Eastern Christian synthesis summarized above. In their definitions of priestly prayers, some Western theologians claim that such prayers address the Father alone, preserving the "order of the Trinitarian processions."[35] From a Western ecclesiological perspective, addressing the Father preserves the notion of prayer through Christ, with Christ acting as mediator, facilitating the assembly's direct communication with the Father as baptized children in Christ.[36] This type of liturgical prayer requests the divine activity of the economic Trinity. Protecting the ecclesiological priority of praying in and through Christ is popular in the West, and sometimes

---

[31] Ibid., pp. 39–40.

[32] Ibid., p. 58.

[33] Ibid., p. 76. Congar cites Vladimir Lossky in particular (p. 78, n. 17).

[34] "The Filioque: A Church-Dividing Issue?" An Agreed Statement of the North American Catholic-Orthodox Theological Consultation (Washington, DC: St. Paul's College), available from http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/dialogue-with-others/ecumenical/orthodox/filioque-church-dividing-issue-english.cfm (accessed April 10 2012).

[35] A. Martimort, I. Dalmais et al., in *The Church at Prayer:* Vol. 1*, Principle of the Liturgy*, eds A. Martimort et al., trans. M. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1987), p. 159.

[36] Ibid., pp. 158–9. The editors add that "no one should be allowed to keep the celebrant's voice from being heard," as the assembly makes "the prayer their own by their silent attention and by the 'Amen' they say at the end" (ibid., p. 158).

the celebrant's liturgical ministry is characterized as being *in persona Christi*, a mediation between God and his people.[37]

Many Eastern Christian theologians hold the same view on the direction of liturgical prayer. For example, Boris Bobrinskoy discusses Trinitarian theology in the baptismal rite and the blessing of waters in particular:

> The prior ritual of a blessing of the water developed gradually. It is not mentioned in the Baptism of the eunuch by Philip (Acts 8:26–40). The ritual developed in parallel to the Eucharistic ritual. The two consecrations are addressed to the Father. They consist, on the one hand, of a memorial of the Last Supper and, on the other, of the Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan, and of a pneumatological invocation.[38]

Bobrinskoy retains the Trinitarian order by stating that "liturgical prayer is always addressed to the Father … This is the hallmark of the oldest liturgies," and "the epiclesis is also addressed to the Father, and is never addressed to the Holy Spirit in person."[39] Bobrinskoy allows for an ancient invocation to Christ as one "orientation" of the epiclesis.[40] This type of epiclesis is distinct from a "properly called" epiclesis of the Holy Spirit. Bobrinskoy favors the latter, a pneumatic liturgical epiclesis, as having been established by Christ himself through salvation history, as Christ intercedes before the throne of the Father, invoking the sending of the Holy Spirit upon his Church:

> The request for the Holy Spirit, which the epiclesis of the Church is, can be made only thanks to Christ, through Christ, and through the prayer of the glorified Christ, elevated at the right hand of the Father. The entire liturgy must therefore be understood from the perspective of this heavenly intercession of Christ which is an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, a supplication to the Father to send the Holy Spirit on the Church, on the gifts, on the community, on the world.[41]

Bobrinskoy has articulated a model for liturgical prayer and a hermeneutic for its interpretation that upholds a monarchical priority in Trinitarian theology. Interestingly, his analysis coincides with the Western perspective on liturgical prayer by upholding the notion that all prayer addresses the Father, and clarifies an Eastern position on Christology in prayer. Bobrinskoy adopts an ecclesially centered position wherein prayer is offered in and through Christ to the Father,

---

37 Ibid., p. 158.

38 Boris Bobrinskoy, *The Mystery of the Trinity: Trinitarian Experience and Vision in the Biblical and Patristic Tradition,* trans. Anthony P. Gythiel (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1999), p. 163.

39 Ibid., pp. 183–4.

40 Ibid., p. 190.

41 Ibid., p. 190.

which provides a slightly differently stated view on Christ's role in liturgical prayer compared to the popular Western notion of the priest praying *in persona Christi.*[42] Bobrinskoy effectively establishes a model for defining and interpreting the dynamics of liturgical prayer which conforms to a traditional monarchical model of Trinitarian theology.

For the Byzantine tradition, the possibility that an entire liturgical rite addresses prayer to Christ, and invokes Christ to send the Holy Spirit, suggests a liturgical theology that challenges this monarchical priority of Trinitarian theology. This does not mean that the Greek patristic tradition imposes a model of epicletic prayer addressing the Father on all liturgical prayers for the sole purpose of preserving the monarchical Trinitarian priority. However, a solemn liturgical rite that reveals an alternate model of Trinitarian action in the liturgy could stimulate additional study of the intricacies of Trinitarian theology in Byzantine ecclesiastical sources. Because of the significance of Trinitarian theology and its liturgical expression in ecumenical discourse, this study will present and analyze the Trinitarian theology of the blessing of waters to provide a framework for its interpretation and examine how it compares with the predominant Trinitarian model of liturgical prayer.

Analysis of the Epiclesis and Spiritual Blessings

Several issues emerge from this epicletic components of the "Great are You" prayer. A resolution of epicletic problems is warranted: namely, the relationship between the two epicletic sections, the addressee of the prayer, the activity of the Holy Spirit, and the meaning of the spiritual blessings requested. I will provide an analysis of all these issues by attending to the activity of the assembly in drawing, touching, being anointed, and partaking of the sanctified water. An examination of the intersection of baptismal and Epiphany themes in the blessing of waters will clarify the presence of numerous baptismal motifs throughout the Epiphany rite, especially exorcism, regeneration, and the remission of sins, and will help define the meaning of the blessing of waters. Historical information on the use of water sanctified on Epiphany will be incorporated to illustrate its magnitude as a source of sanctification in Byzantine ecclesiastical culture. The plunging of the cross, and occasionally torches, myrrh, and charcoal into the water, a staple of the liturgy through its historical development throughout the East, will be shown to elaborate the relationship between the ritual's festal anamnesis and its epiclesis.

---

[42] For a review of dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox on the meaning of the priest praying *in persona Christi* and *in nomine Christi,* see Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit,* vol. 3, pp. 234–7.

Scholarship on the Blessing of Waters

The blessing of waters on Epiphany has received limited scholarly research. Studies dedicated to the history of the Epiphany feast or the liturgical year occasionally refer to the sanctification of waters, but only as part of a larger presentation on the history of the feast itself.[43] P. de Puniet published a brief history of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in different liturgical families, with some emphasis on the Byzantine rite.[44] Puniet's contributions include identifying varying attributions of authorship in the history of the ritual, such as the Syrian ascription of the rite to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople in the fourth century.[45] He also provides an overview of the rite in the Coptic, Armenian, Syrian, and Ethiopian traditions.

To date, Miguel Arranz has produced the most significant work on the Epiphany blessing of waters, although he focused his efforts on analyzing the euchology of the Byzantine rites of initiation. Arranz wrote about the history of the blessing of waters in multiple publications. Arranz's historical and theological analysis of the rites of initiation includes an article presenting the Greek text and a French translation of the blessing of baptismal waters, and another analyzing its historical and theological formation.[46] Arranz addresses the relationship between the two respective rituals blessing water for Baptism and Epiphany intermittently throughout the articles. Arranz suggests that the Epiphany water blessing may have adopted the baptismal original, with subsequent editorial revisions. In his analysis of the history and text of the Sinai Slavonic Euchologion, Arranz presents parts of the Constantinopolitan cathedral tradition for the blessing of waters, as this rite commences the incomplete Slavonic Euchologion.[47] His analysis is limited

---

[43] Studies on the history of the Epiphany feast include the following: A.-M. Dubarle et al. (eds), *Noël, Épiphanie retour du Christ,* Lex Orandi 40, Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge (Paris: Cerf, 1967); J. Lemarié, *La manifestation du Seigneur: La liturgie de Noël et de l'Épiphanie,* Lex Orandi 23 (Paris: Cerf, 1957); M. Merras, *The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany: An Ideological, Cultural, and Historical Study,* University of Joensuu publications in the Humanities 16 (Joensuu, Finland: Joensuu University Press, 1995); C. Mohrmann, "Epiphania," in *Études sur la latin des chrétiens* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958), pp. 245–75; and T. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 112–29.

[44] P. de Puniet, "Bénédiction de l'eau," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Tome Deuxième, Première partie* (DACL) eds F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq (Paris: 1925), pp. 685–713.

[45] Ibid., p. 703.

[46] Miguel Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 6: l''illumination' de la nuit de Pâques," OCP 51 (1985), pp. 60–86, hereafter "Arranz-I"; idem, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 7: l''illumination' de la nuit de Pâques," OCP 52 (1986), pp. 145–78, hereafter "Arranz-II".

[47] Miguel Arranz, "La liturgie de l'euchologe slave du Sinai," in *Christianity Among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius* eds E. Farrugia, R. Taft, and G Piovesana, OCA 231 (Rome: Pontificium institutum studiorum orientalium, 1988), pp. 15–74.

to the contributions from the Constantinopolitan Epiphany blessing, and makes scant reference to the Studite-Sabaitic monastic rite. His attempt to establish a relationship between the texts of the Epiphany and baptismal versions of the "Great are You" prayer is valuable, and I incorporate his contributions in my analysis.

Elena Velkovska provides an edition of the Slavonic text based on the Sinai Slavic manuscript tradition with a review of the history of the manuscript tradition in two essays.[48] Tatiana Afanaseva furthers Velkovska's work by identifying four stages of the historical development of the blessing of waters in fourteenth-century Serbian Euchologia and Trebnyks, and demonstrating their similarities to the earlier Constantinopolitan cathedral and monastic sources.[49]

An important theological explication of the Epiphany sanctification of waters occurs in a recent article by Markos Vidalis.[50] Vidalis summarizes the work of previous scholars, and contributes a theological reflection on the meaning of the ritual. He attends to questions of authorship initially raised by Puniet, concluding that the rite is probably an amalgamation of numerous authors who inherited an ancient text, edited it, and handed it down, with the text continuously evolving. He affirms the rite's Christological prominence, and suggests that it shares many characteristics with a Christological anaphora like the one attributed to Gregory Nazianzus.[51] His work analyzes only select prayers, and he does not comment on the greater liturgical context. Brian Butcher has recently performed an analysis of the blessing of waters by applying the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur.[52]

In summary, the scholarly research on the history and theology of the blessing of waters has produced limited information. Most of the analysis concerns the baptismal version of the "Great are You" prayer, a review of attempts to identify the author of the rite, and the relationship between the Constantinopolitan patriarchal Euchologia with the Sinai Slavonic Euchologion. This study considers many of these scholarly contributions. These earlier studies are, however, limited in focus, and do not provide a broad picture of the history and theology of the blessing of waters. A comprehensive analysis of the entire ritual of the blessing of waters is

---

[48] Elena Velkovska, "Un passo della *Mystica Theologia* dello Pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita nell' Eucologio Slavo del Sinai," and "Il rito della Teofania in uno Schematologhion slavo del XIV secolo," in *Nuovi paralleli graeci dell'eucologio slavo del Sinai* (Rome: n.p., 1996), pp. 17–30, 31–54.

[49] Tatiana Afanaseva, "Чинопоследование великаго освящения водьı на Богоявление в Славянских служебниках XI-XV ВВ," *Palaeobulgarica* 28 (2004), pp. 25–45.

[50] Markos Vidalis, "La benediction des eaux de la fête de l'Épiphanie, selon le rite grec de l'Église orthodoxe," in *La prière liturgique,* Conférences Saint-Serge XLVIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 27–30, Juin 2000, BELS 115, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2001), pp. 237–57.

[51] Ibid., pp. 241, 254.

[52] Brian Butcher, "Figuring Liturgically: A Ricoeurian Analysis of the Byzantine Rite 'Great Blessing of Water,'" (PhD dissertation, Faculty of Theology, Sheptytsky Institute, University of St. Paul, 2010).

lacking, since scholars have focused only on select components of the ritual, or narrow historical periods. My study will present a detailed history of the liturgical celebration and will analyze its liturgical theology by attending to its context.

The Blessing of Waters and Ecological Stewardship

The historical and theological analysis of the blessing of waters is timely, due to the prominence of ecological stewardship in contemporary societal discourse. The liturgical context of the blessing of waters includes an eloquent theological reflection on the participation of the cosmos in Christ's theophanic appearance and sanctification of the waters. The prayers, hymns, and gestures contain functional expressions, articulating the assembly's hope on how the waters might be transformed for the participants to receive blessings through them. The liturgy's allotment of a prominent position to the cosmos in remembering Christ's appearance creates a unique opportunity to reflect on developing a theological vision of how Christ's appearance impacts not only human participants, but also the cosmos. The liturgical context of the blessing of waters is highly theocentric, not anthropocentric, and this focus on the divine activity and manifestation allows contemplation of God's vision for the cosmos. The Epiphany liturgy values creation and highlights its participation at Christ's appearance. Creation's dignity, revealed by the blessing of waters, creates an opportunity for the reader to participate in contemporary discourse on how humanity should address the challenges of ecological stewardship.

A reflection on the contribution of the blessing of waters to ecological stewardship is one of the highlights of chapter nine, which addresses pastoral considerations. Pastors can consult this chapter as a fully stocked toolbox for catechetics, homiletics, and for actively engaging initiatives that value water because God has revealed it to be good. The chapter also offers practical liturgical orders for Byzantine liturgical celebrants, and presents two potential orders (Roman Catholic and Anglican) for the blessing of waters suitable for Western Churches.

Summary

The issues delineated above have tremendous implications for our interpretation of the blessing of waters in the East, and pose opportunities for advances in heortology, sacramental theology, and ecumenical theology. The rich theological language of the blessing of waters and its similarity to Baptism warrants its characterization as a sacramental event. It makes a significant contribution to theological discourse on divine activity due to its unique Christological orientation and precise expressions of Trinitarian operation hold potential for progress. The consistent elaboration of events and ideas expressed by prayers and hymns constitutes a model for interpreting heortology. Altogether, a systematic explication of the history and

theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the East illuminates its place in the liturgical and theological heritage of the Eastern Churches.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 2
Early History of the Blessing of Waters

Introduction

The earliest occurrence of the ritual for the blessing of waters in the Eastern liturgical tradition is in the Euchologion *Barberini 336* (BAR), which dates to the eighth century. BAR is the oldest manuscript witness containing a liturgical ordo for most liturgical offices of the Byzantine rite. Consequently, the history of the Epiphany blessing anterior to the eighth century is termed as "prehistory" in this chapter. However, the prehistory of the liturgical celebration gives us important insights into its celebration, interpretation, and significance for Eastern Christians. I gather and present evidence on the celebration of the blessing of waters as reported by homilists, historians, pilgrims, hagiographers, and liturgical texts to establish a context for the celebration of the rite in various locations, and its interpretation. My analysis concludes with a summary of the liturgical ordo and themes associated with the celebration gathered from the evidence.

Fourth Century: Antioch and Egypt

Evidence from the fourth century suggests that the Epiphany blessing of waters was celebrated in Antioch and Egypt. John Chrysostom, in his homily *De Baptismo Christi* preached in Antioch in AD 387, testifies to the practice of drawing sanctified water:

> For this is the day on which he was baptized and sanctified the nature of the waters. Therefore also on this solemnity in the middle of the night all who are gathered, having drawn the water, set the liquid aside in their houses and preserve it throughout the year, for today the waters are sanctified.[1]
>
> Αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Ἡμέρα καθ᾽ ἣν ἐβαπτίσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἡγίασε φύσιν. Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν μεσονυκτίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην ἅπαντες ὑδρευσάμενοι οἴκαδε τά νάματα ἀποτίθενται, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὁλόκληρον φυλάττουσιν, ἅτε δὴ σήμερον ἁγιασθέντων τῶν ὑδάτων.

Chrysostom describes the effects of the liturgy on the nature of the waters as rendering them without blemish and completely pure for a period as long as two

[1] Translation based on Talley, pp. 114–5. Original text from Chrysostom's *De Baptismo Christi* (CPG 4335), PG 49: 365–6.

or three years.[2] He also affirms that "our great God and Savior Jesus Christ" ("τοῦ μεγαλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ") is the one who sanctifies the waters, as this phrase appears in the section before "ἐβαπτίσατο." Chrysostom provides two useful pieces of information: the celebration occurred in the middle of the night (ἐν μεσονυκτίω), and the participants drew water, took it home, and, at least presumably, used it throughout the year.

Epiphanius of Salamis (died AD 403), writing in the fourth century, suggests that Egyptian Christians practiced the drawing and storing of water on a feast celebrated on January 6:

> The Lord's birth in the flesh took place on the eleventh of the Egyptian month Tybi … Thus in Egypt itself, and in many countries, everyone draws water on the eleventh of the Egyptian month Tybi and stores it up.[3]
>
> ἐνδεκάτη Τυβὶ κατ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους ἡ προειρημένη τοῦ κυρίου ἔσαρκος γέννησις ἐγένετο…διόπερ ἐν τῇ ἑνδέκατη τοῦ Τυβὶ κατ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους πάντες ὑδρεύονται ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποτιθέασιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Αἰγύπτω καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς πατρίσιν.

Talley demonstrates that Epiphanius's claim that the Egyptians celebrated the Lord's birth on January 6, with the Baptism of Christ celebrated on November 8, is unsubstantiated by contemporaneous Egyptian witnesses.[4] More pertinent is Epiphanius's reference to an event concerning water on January 6, which underscores the purpose of the celebration: drawing water, and storing it. Both John Chrysostom and Epiphanius attest to the celebration of a water-drawing ritual in Antioch and Egypt in the fourth century on January 6, though the authors disagree on the specific event celebrated on the assigned date.

Fourth to Eighth Centuries: Jerusalem

The pilgrim Egeria reports a solemn celebration of the Epiphany feast in her diary chronicling her fourth-century pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[5] A glaring lacuna in the

---

[2] "And an obvious phenomenon occurs: the waters, in their nature, do not spoil in the passage of time, but obtained today, they remain perfect for a year and often for two or three years," PG 49:366.

[3] Translation based on *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, trans., Frank Williams, Nag Hammadi Studies 36 (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1994), p. 61. The Greek text is from *Epiphanius*, ed. Karl Holl, GCS, vol. 2 (Leipzig: J.C. Heinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922), p. 301 (Panarion 51.20.1).

[4] Talley, pp. 112, 117–21.

[5] Egeria's travels likely occurred between AD 381 and 384. See Égérie, *Journal de Voyage*, ed. Pierre Maraval, SCh 296 (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 250–55 (description of Epiphany feast), and the editor's discussion on the date of the journey, pp. 26–39. Egeria does not employ the term "Epiphany" for the solemnity of January 6. Her use of "Epiphania" in

manuscript tradition of Egeria's pilgrimage occurs in the midst of her description of the Epiphany celebration, leaving details on the liturgy unknown. The Armenian Lectionary (AL), dated between AD 417 and AD 439, corroborates the occasion of the fourth-century hagiopolite celebration of the feast.[6] AL indicates a stational celebration, beginning on January 5 in Bethlehem, with the longest portion occupied by a Vigil in the crypt of the Church of the Nativity, the faithful then returning to Jerusalem, with the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy in the Martyrium Church on January 6.[7] The sources make no reference to a procession to the Jordan for the blessing of waters, so Renoux soundly rejects suggestions that this could have been included in the liturgical celebrations, especially since the prevailing theme of the feast centers on the birth of Christ.[8] In summary, Egeria and AL testify to the solemn celebration of a feast of the Nativity on January 6, but do not mention any rituals for the blessing of the waters.

Evidence indicating the celebration of the blessing of waters in Jerusalem appears in the fifth- to eighth-century composite of the hagiopolite lectionary and Typika materials known as the Georgian Lectionary (GL).[9] GL provides a four-part celebration of the Epiphany feast, beginning with the arrival at the Church at the ninth hour on January 6,[10] immediately followed by Vespers[11] and a Eucharistic liturgy.[12] After the liturgy, the assembly departs for the blessing of waters, though GL does not indicate the station or location, and no Euchologion containing the texts for the blessing of the waters has survived to complement GL's information.

---

reference to the celebration on the fortieth day after Epiphany reveals the use of Epiphany for the feast of January 6: "Sane quadragesimae de epiphania ualde cum summo honore hic celebrantur" (Égérie, *Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval, p. 254).

6 Athanase Renoux, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem* 121. I. *Introduction aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine: lumières nouvelles*, Patrologia Orientalis 35.1 (Turnhout : Brepols, 1969) pp. 1–215, and *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*. II. *Édition Comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits,* Introduction, textes, traduction et notes par A. Renoux, Patrologia Orientalis 36.2 (Turnhout : Brepols, 1971). Appropriately, Renoux also provides an analysis of AL's canon for the Epiphany feast in "L'Épiphanie à Jérusalem au IVe et au Ve siècles," in *Noël, Épiphanie retour du Christ*, ed. A.-M. Dubarle et al., Lex Orandi 40, semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge (Paris: Cerf, 1967), pp. 171–93.

7 Renoux, "L'Épiphanie à Jérusalem," pp.174–7.

8 Ibid., p. 178.

9 Michel Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem V–VIII siècle*, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 189 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1959). The ordo for the celebration of the Epiphany feast occurs in nos. 83–116.

10 MS S indicates the commencement of the liturgical festivities at Vespers the previous evening (January 5), in Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem V–VIII siècle*, p. 19, n. 83.

11 GL 83 states that the canon of the Mass is done after the hymn *Phos Hilaron*, referring to Vespers.

12 GL 86–91.

Table 2.1 presents the context of the blessing of waters in the Epiphany liturgical cycle of GL nos. 92–106:

Table 2.1 Blessing of Waters in the Georgian Lectionary

No. 92: After the liturgy, everyone departs for the blessing of the waters.
Hypakoi, Tone 8: "With one voice, we praise"
Psalm, Tone 8 (Ps. 50:9): Purge me with hyssop.
Verse (Ps. 50:3): Have mercy on me, o God, according to your great mercy.
No. 93: *Reading*, Isaiah 12:1–6: You will draw waters from the wells of salvation.
Alleluia, tone 4: (Ps. 113:3). The sea looked [back and fled].
No. 94: Mark 1:9 – (see the Gospel of the Mass)
No. 95: Return from blessing of waters.
Hypakoi, Tone 8: "The army of angels"
Prayers and Dismissal
Nos. 96–107: Vigil
No. 108–116: Eucharistic Liturgy

Consistent with Egeria's incomplete description, GL testifies to a solemn Epiphany celebration in Jerusalem. Since the lectionary provides only the propers for lections and hymnody, only the following facts are established: the blessing of waters is celebrated after the initial gathering of the assembly at the church for Vespers, followed immediately by a Eucharistic liturgy on the eve of Epiphany on January 5, after which the assembly is briefly dismissed. A lengthy vigil then commences at midnight, with a Eucharistic liturgy following immediately.

The propers accompanying the blessing of the waters expresses the following themes: a reference to drawing water from the wells of salvation following the reconciliation of humanity with God (Isaiah 12:1–6), another reference to water in the Alleluia psalm (Ps. 113:3), and the Markan account of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan. These same themes were briefly introduced to the assembly at the Vespers and Eucharistic liturgy commencing the feast, since an Isaiah lection begins the event (Isaiah 1:16–20, GL no. 87), while the hymn at the *manuum lotionis* (washing of the hands) alludes to illumination (GL no. 90, Tone 2, "Illumine our hearts, you who illuminate"),[13] and the *Sanctificatorum* immediately preceding the departure for the water rite appropriately refers to water (GL no. 91, Tone 2 (Ps. 76:17): "When the waters saw you they were afraid").

[13] MS S designates this as the φωταγωγικόν, in Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem V–VIII siècle,* p. 20, n. 90.

In summary, while hagiopolite evidence for the celebration of Epiphany lacks euchological details and rubrics, it produces a number of facts that elucidate a festal theme. The liturgical festivities are marked by solemnity, as attested to by eyewitness accounts and the number and length of liturgical celebrations; a rite for the blessing of the waters appears as a part of the liturgical structure between the fifth and eighth centuries; the prevailing theological theme of the feast shifts between the fourth and fifth–eighth centuries, from a liturgy centered on Christ's birth (AL) to a feast commemorating Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan, reflected by Chrysostom's Antiochene homily and GL. GL features the theme of illumination, and the drawing of water in the components surrounding the sanctification of the waters. A lack of detailed evidence notwithstanding, the festal celebrations included the theme of illumination, with allusions to drawing of water notable.

Sixth Century: Jerusalem and Sykeon (Asia Minor)

Antoninus, a sixth-century pilgrim to Jerusalem from Plaisance (approximately AD 570), described the celebration of Epiphany at the Jordan river.[14] He mentions a large gathering of people for the vigil of Epiphany, with the clergy descending into Jordan itself for the blessing of the waters after Matins has been completed, the Jordan moving back with a roar, accommodating the celebration.[15] He also testifies to Alexandrians in boats who pour aromatic substances into the water after the rituals of sanctification have concluded, and then draw some of the water, sprinkling their boats prior to departing on their sea journey.[16] From this testimony, a celebration of the blessing of the waters of the Jordan, and the drawing of water by participants occurred in sixth-century hagiopolite liturgy, partially confirming GL's witness, as Antoninus indicates a different appointed time for the celebration, with the blessing of waters occurring after Vespers and the Eucharistic liturgy but before vigil in GL. His testimony also provides a more accurate date (AD 570) for the celebration of the blessing of waters, and he also alludes to the celebration of baptisms included in the festal celebrations.[17]

An excerpt from the hagiographical account of the life of St Theodore of Sykeon (died AD 613) produces information on the celebration of the sanctification of the waters during the reign of the Emperor Justinian in Sykeon, a village near the city

---

[14] *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* (CPL 2330) ed. P. Geyer, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), p. 135. Also see Talley, p. 113.

[15] "In uigilis theophaniae fiunt uigiliae grandes, populus infinitus; gallo quarta aut quinta fiunt matutinas. Completo matutinis albescente die procedunt ministeria sub diuo, et tenentes diaconi descendit sacerdos in fluuium et hora, qua coeperit benedicere aquam, mox Iordanis cum rugitu post se et stat aqua usque dum baptismus perficiatur" (*Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, p. 135).

[16] "Et omnes Alexandrini habentes naues homines suos die illo ibi habent habentes colathos plenos cum aromatibus et opobalsamo" (ibid., p. 135).

[17] Ibid., pp. 200–201.

of Anastasiapolis in Asia Minor.[18] The account in question comes from chapter 16, where the hagiographer describes Theodore's actions during the festal celebration, which took place on the eve of Epiphany. Theodore gathers together with the clergy and assembly to depart from the martyrium Church of St George and venture to the ford of the river, where the entire liturgy was celebrated; the hagiographer mentions that the prophets, epistles, and Gospel are all proclaimed as part of the celebration. During the liturgy, Theodore entered the river alone, standing there the entire time, and the hagiographer notes that he was able to raise his feet from the mud and ice that had coagulated there only with great effort.[19] Theodore then withdrew from the water, and chanted the psalms up until the prayer.[20]

The author's account of Theodore's life depicts him as a priest, founder of a monastery, eventually bishop of Anastasiopolis in Asia Minor, a wonderworker and exorcist, who resigned from the episcopacy and returned to his monastery.[21] The author's goal in presenting his account of Theodore's activity is to underscore Theodore's humility and holiness, hence his withdrawal to the cave for silent prayer,[22] and his exertion in the water during the rite. Given this priority, one cannot assume that describing the order of the liturgy with precision is a part of his motivation.

The account of Theodore's life contributes the following facts. First, a water ritual was included as an integral component of the Epiphany feast in sixth-century Asia Minor, celebrated outdoors, at the ford of the river. The hagiographer does not mention a water blessing occurring inside the Church, so no conclusions can be drawn on the number of blessings celebrated by the community. Second, the liturgical ordo contains both Old Testament (prophets) and New Testament lections. Third, psalms were chanted prior to a prayer, intoned by Theodore as he stood in the water. The author's concern seems to be directed towards the retreat to the cave, and Theodore's venture into the water appears to draw upon a hagiographical motif of identification with activities originally performed by Christ, a physical action patterned after Christ's entrance into the Jordan.

---

[18] George of Sykeon, *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*, 2 vols., ed. André-Jean Festugière, Subsidia hagiographica 48 (Bruxelles : Société des Bollandistes, 1970).

[19] "On the eve of the Theophany, when all of the clergy and laity were assembling to him, he went with them from the martyrion to the ford of the water, and he alone went into the water and stood in its midst throughout the reading of the prophet and the epistle and the Gospel with the celebration of the rest of the of the liturgy, as after the completion of these things, his feet were utterly stuck in mud, fastened and frozen by ice: and thus he intoned the psalmody," *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*, ed. Festugière, 16:13–21 (p. 14).

[20] At this point, the author notes that Theodore withdrew to the cave, which was located underneath the altar of the sanctuary, to abide in silence until Palm Sunday (ibid).

[21] See *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*, ed. Festugière, p. v.

[22] Note, however, his active participation with the assembly in the festal celebration—he is not completely reclusive.

Seventh Century: Syria

A homily attributed to Marutha of Tagrit (died AD 649) on the blessing of waters provides an insight into the rite used in seventh-century Syria.[23] The relationship between the Syrian and Byzantine rites in the seventh century is a bit murky due to a lack of information on the Syrian structure.[24] Marutha situates his homily in the context of Baptism, especially the reception of illumination as a gift of salvation and the newness of life that naturally follows.[25] He continues by placing the faithful in the context of the Exodus event wherein they find themselves burning in the desert, but unable to assuage their extreme thirst with bitter water. Moses threw a piece of wood into the water, sweetening it, which allowed the Israelites to quench their thirst.[26] Marutha explains that the wood is a type of Christ, and that the Exodus story prefigures Christ's Baptism in the Jordan. Christ sweetens the bitter waters of the river, restoring it to its original state of goodness.[27] Marutha outlines the relationship between Christ and the water, as his presence in the Jordan restores the water to goodness. Christ's presence removes the bitterness from the water and restores its power to quench thirst for those seeking to renew their souls after Baptism. Marutha uses this common typological image of Christ as providing what the law could not provide, namely the ability to sustain both bodily and spiritual life.

Marutha reiterates the baptismal context in reminding the audience that they were revived by Christ in the laver of regeneration, exhorting them to preserve the gift they have received in purity.[28] They take and keep the water blessed on Epiphany for drinking or sprinkling, and are cleansed of their impurities when they partake of it.[29]

While one must be careful not to impose Marutha's theological interpretation upon his contemporaneous ritual of water blessing, his homily witnesses to some important aspects of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Syrian Church of the seventh century. The purpose of blessing water was for the people to be renewed in persevering through the post-baptismal Christian life. The faithful used the water for drinking and sprinkling. While Christ's Baptism in the Jordan functioned as the paradigmatic scriptural event, his transformative presence was interpreted through the typology of the Exodus event, evidencing an important link to Baptism itself.

---

[23] Sebastian Brock, "The Homily by Marutha of Tagrit on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany," *Oriens Christianus* 66 (1982), pp. 51–74. Brock notes the appellation of the title "metropolitan" to Marutha.

[24] Ibid., p. 52.

[25] Marutha, *Homily*, 1 (Brock, p. 63).

[26] Marutha, *Homily*, 2–3 (Brock, pp. 63–4). Exodus 14 and 15 serve as the homily's sources of the biblical images, here Ex. 15:22–5.

[27] Marutha, *Homily*, 9–17 (Brock, pp. 65–6).

[28] Marutha, *Homily*, 34, 38 (Brock, p. 69).

[29] Marutha, *Homily*, 39 (Brock, p. 70).

The text also shows that those participating in the rite were already baptized. The theology of the rite affirmed their restoration to an original state of goodness in creation. Marutha does not mention forthcoming baptisms on this day, though the absence of such references does not exclude the possibility that baptisms occurred on Epiphany. Marutha's homily provides an important testimony to the Syrian Epiphany water rites immediately anterior to the Constantinopolitan witness of BAR.

Conclusion

In conclusion, evidence for the prehistory of the celebration of the sanctification of the waters on Epiphany is scattered and limited. Table 2.2 provides a historical summary:

Table 2.2 Prehistory Summary Fourth–Seventh Centuries

Period	Location	Source	Key Activities & Themes
Fourth Century	Antioch	St. John Chrysostom	Blessing & drawing Water
Fourth Century	Egypt	Epiphanius of Salamis	Drawing Water
Fifth–Eighth Centuries	Jerusalem	Georgian Lectionary	Blessing Water, repentance, Illumination,
Sixth Century	Jerusalem	Antoninus, Diary	Vigil, drawing water
Sixth Century	Central Asia Minor	Life of Theodore of Sykeon	Liturgy at water, blessing
Seventh Century	Syria	Marutha of Tagrit	illumination/Baptism, drawing water

None of these sources provides a euchology or proposed ordo for the rite. Illumination, Baptism, and drawing water are prominent themes that recur across some regions and authors. Other witnesses testified to the solemnity of the liturgical celebration on the feast (Egeria, Antoninus), which is clearly supported by the liturgical material in the hagiopolite lectionaries (AL and GL). These witnesses are all notable because their references, though oblique, to the sanctification or drawing of water on Epiphany all conveniently coincide with the commemoration of Christ's Baptism, though the earliest manifestations of the feast appear to celebrate either the Nativity or the Baptism of Christ, as evidenced by the disparity between Chrysostom's homily and AL.[30]

[30] See Gabriele Winkler for an overview of the early history: "The Appearance of Light at the Baptism of Jesus and the Origins of the Feast of Epiphany: An Investigation of Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Sources," in Maxwell Johnson (ed.), *Between Memory*

Thomas Talley undertook the task of attempting to identify the origins of drawing water as reported in the most ancient sources in his study on the origins of the liturgical year, concluding that the sanctification of the waters celebrates Christ's paradigmatic entrance into the Jordan, sanctifying all of creation.[31] In his conclusion, he dismisses the notion that the practice of drawing water was adapted from an Egyptian pagan practice surrounding the Nile. The lack of sound contemporaneous euchological evidence renders it impossible to confirm the practice's heortological origin. Even so, the following conclusions on the celebration of the blessing of waters from the fourth to the eighth centuries can be offered:

- Fourth–Sixth Centuries: the occasion was solemn, and people both drew and stored water as part of their ritual participation (Antioch, Egypt, Jerusalem)
- Fifth–Eighth Centuries: The ritual occurred at a natural source of water outside the community building (Jerusalem and Asia Minor)
- Fifth–Eighth Centuries: The ritual contained a liturgy of the Word with selections from the Old and New Testaments (Jerusalem, Asia Minor)
- Fifth–Eighth Centuries: theological themes of the ritual include illumination and Baptism (Jerusalem, Syria).

and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2000), pp. 291–348.

[31] Talley, pp. 112–7, 124–6.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 3
History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 1 (8th–10th Centuries)

Composing a liturgical history of the blessing of Epiphany waters in the Eastern liturgical tradition required close examination of edited and unedited euchological sources. The first stage of the water blessing's history relies primarily upon Euchologia (the Eastern equivalent of a sacramentary) and Typika, which provide the liturgical descriptions of the lives of particular communities. A description of liturgical sources studied for Stage One occurs here.

Euchologia

Barberini Euchologion (BAR) stands at the center of this investigation due to its age. It is the oldest extant Euchologion of the Byzantine liturgical tradition, dating from approximately the second half of the eighth century. It is witness to the patriarchal liturgy of Constantinople, and the cult of the church of Hagia Sophia.[1] *British Museum Add. 14.494 (B.M. Add. 14.494)*, represents West Syrian liturgy from the eighth and ninth centuries.[2] The manuscript's contents are comprehensive, containing liturgical rituals analogous to those found in a Missal, pontifical, and ritual. *Sinai 957* dates from the ninth and tenth centuries, and appears to combine euchological material from both the Constantinopolitan and Palestinian traditions.[3] *San Lazaro 457* is an Armenian liturgical source dating

---

[1] *L'eucologio barberini gr. 336*, 2nd ed., eds Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, introduction, pp. 19–21 for date and provenance. Also see M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain," OCP 48 (1982), pp. 284–335, for an overview of the core Euchologia crucial for researching the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition.

[2] G. Khouri-Sarkis and A. du Boullay, "La bénédiction de l'eau, la nuit de l'Epiphanie, dans le rite syrien d'Antioche", *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959), pp. 211–32.

[3] Dmitrievsky published a portion of the Euchologion in A. Дмитріевский (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Руконисей,* Vol. 2 (Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1895. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), pp. 1–12, the Epiphany rubrics, pp. 7–8. Hereafter, "Dmitrievsky-II." Parenti and Velkovska comment on the likely provenance of the Euchologion in *L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, p. 49. Their opinion is based on the description of the patriarch's celebrating the office at the palace, which will be discussed below.

from the ninth–tenth centuries containing the blessing of waters on Epiphany.[4] *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, a Euchologion consisting of an amalgamation of sources, copied in an Italo-Greek monastery probably in the Rossano region, reflects tenth–eleventh century worship.[5] *Sinai 956* (tenth century)[6] is likely a prototypical Constantinopolitan Euchologion, and *Sinai 958* (tenth century) appears to be a presbyteral Euchologion of Palestinian provenance.[7] Parenti and Velkovska characterize *Grottaferrata Gb X* as a diverse convergence of Euchologia from the provenance of Carbone of the tenth–eleventh centuries.[8]

Euchologium Sinaiticum constitutes a partial Euchologion, excluding the Eucharistic liturgies and rites of Baptism while including the blessing of waters and other liturgical services such as penance.[9] Arranz asserts that the Euchologion reflects a liturgy in the state of flux, fusing traditionally patriarchal components with Studite monastic rites.[10] The Euchologion was copied and translated into Slavonic for the Moravian missionaries, and could reflect elements dating from the ninth century.[11]

One typikon was consulted for this stage, and its Constantinopolitan provenance establishes its importance. The so-called Typikon of the Great Church (TGC) testifies to the liturgy of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople from the end of the ninth to the

---

[4] In Conybeare, F.C., *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p. 166. On the dating and contents of *San Lazaro 457*, see Conybeare, Introduction, ix–xiii. See also G. Munarini, "Canone della benedizione delle acque [nel giorno del Natale Epifania di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo nella Chiesa Armena (6 Gennaio)]," *Bazmavep* 163 (2005), p. 244.

[5] G. Passarelli (ed.), *L'eucologio cryptense Γ.B. VII (sec. X)*, Analekta Vlatadon 36 (Thessalonica, n.p., 1982), nos. 154–9, hereafter "Passarelli". See also A. Jacob, "Quelques observations sur l'euchologe *Γ.B.* VII de Grottaferrata: A propos d'une édition récente," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 53–4 (1983–1984), pp. 65–98, especially his critical comments on dating and provenance on pp. 92–8.

[6] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 12–19, also described by Parenti and Velkovska, pp. 48–9.

[7] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 19–39, described by Parenti and Velkovska, p. 49. Also see A. Jacob, "Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων de l'euchologe Barberini," *Byzantion* 56 (1986), p. 147.

[8] Parenti and Velkovska, p. 45. F.C. Conybeare published its liturgy of the blessing of waters in his *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany edited from the Oldest Mss*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 421–8.

[9] For this study, I used two editions: J. Frček (ed.), *Euchologium Sinaiticum,* Patrologia Orientalis 24 (Paris: n.p., 1933), pp. 605–802; and R. Nahtigal (ed.), *Euchologium Sinaiticum: Starocervenoslovenski glagolski spomnik,* I fotografski posnetek, *II* tekst s komentarjem (Ljubljana: Natisnila učiteljska tiskarna v Ljubljana, 1941, 1942).

[10] M. Arranz, "La liturgie de l'euchologe slave du Sinai," pp. 17–20.

[11] Ibid., p. 18.

beginning of the tenth centuries.[12] TGC is reconstructed from several manuscripts, mostly Synaxaria and Typika furnishing the ordo for the liturgical year. *Holy Cross 40* and *Patmos 266* comprise the most important documents testifying to Hagia Sophia's liturgy. TGC produces significant information on the Constantinopolitan cathedral celebration of Epiphany. Table 3.1 provides a list of liturgical sources consulted for this chapter:

Table 3.1 Liturgical Sources, 8th–10th Centuries

Name (Abbreviation)	Date	Book	Provenance
Barberini 336 (BAR)	Eighth Century	Euchologion	Constantinople
British Museum Add. 14.494 (B.M. Add. 14.494)	Eighth–Ninth Centuries	Euchologion	West Syria
San Lazaro 457	Ninth–Tenth Century	Euchologion	Armenia
Patmos 266 *Holy Cross 40*	Early Tenth Century Mid-Tenth Century	Typikon Typikon	Constantinople (Cathedral)
Sinai 957	Ninth–Tenth Centuries	Euchologion	Constantinople-Palestine
Sinai 150	Ninth–Tenth Centuries	Typikon	Studite-Saba Hybrid (Monastic)
Grottaferrata Crypt Gb VII (Grottaferrata Gb VII)	Tenth Century	Euchologion	Italy
Sinai 956	Tenth Century	Euchologion	Constantinople
Sinai 958	Tenth Century	Euchologion	Constantinople-Palestine
Grottaferrata Gb X	Tenth–Eleventh Centuries	Euchologion	Carbone, Italy
Euchologium Sinaiticum (Sinai sl. 37)	Tenth–Eleventh Centuries	Euchologion	Moravia, Okhrid

My presentation of the blessing of waters in this chapter does not strictly follow the order of Table 3.1 above. I begin by presenting the blessing of waters in the early West Syrian and Armenian rites, and then present the Byzantine Epiphany rite in one section. This process maximizes the opportunity to employ the method of comparative liturgy and analyze the similarities and differences in the structures and contents of the respective regional rituals.

For the Byzantine rite, the collection of euchological sources listed in Table 3.1 does not comprise a symmetrical and neatly organized taxonomy of liturgical euchology. On the contrary, it aptly represents the historical development of the Byzantine Liturgy: migration, exchange of traditions and liturgical components,

[12] *Le Typicon de la grande église,* Vol. 1, ed. Juan Mateos, OCA 165 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1962), pp. 182–3, which briefly mentions the sanctification of the waters. See Introduction, IV–XIX for details on dating and contents of *Holy Cross 40* and *Patmos 266*. Also see Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, p. 45.

cross-pollenization between liturgical sources of different ecclesiastical centers, and diversity.[13] Given the rich diversity inherent in this tradition, an analysis of any particular Euchologion suggests the possibility that any combination of its liturgical components could originate from a particular location or epoch. In undertaking an examination of these Euchologia, I focus on commonalities shared between groups of Euchologia in terms of liturgical structures and components in order to articulate stages of the historical development of the rite as an entire liturgical structure.

West Syrian Rite

In 1959, Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis and A. du Boullay published the rite of the blessing of waters on Epiphany according to the West Syrian tradition.[14] The authors used three sources to reconstruct the rite, including the unedited manuscript *British Museum Add. 14.494 (B.M. Add. 14.494),* representing West Syrian liturgy from the eighth and ninth centuries.[15] *B.M. Add. 14.494* is damaged, so I can present only a portion of the blessing of waters. Table 3.2 describes the West Syrian blessing of waters according to *B.M. Add. 14.494:*

Table 3.2 Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.494*

- Gospel: John 4: 5–42[16]
- Preparatory rites
- Incensation of the altar in the sanctuary
- Water basin covered with the veil used to cover Eucharistic gifts
- Deacons retrieve torches and incense, and assemble in rows for a procession
- Procession to a source of water (fountain, pool, or river); *ma'nyôtho*
- Litanic biddings
- Incense; *bo'ûtho*
- *korûzûtho*

[13] The most straightforward and helpful accounts of the history of the Byzantine rite are offered by Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1992), and Miguel Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière, liturgie de l'église universelle*, BELS 7 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1976), pp. 43–72, hereafter Arranz, "Les grandes étapes."

[14] G. Khouri-Sarkis and A. du Boullay, "La bénédiction de l'eau, la nuit de l'Epiphanie, dans le rite syrien d'Antioche," *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959), pp. 211–32.

[15] Ibid., p. 212.

[16] The authors do not provide the actual pericope, stating only that the folio "begins by indicating the Gospel pericope, the one of the Samaritan woman," ibid., p. 220.

- Four prayers[17]
- Fourth prayer: "Great are You, Lord" (attributed to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople)
- Abbot blesses the water, places some in the container, and the deacon carries the blessed water back to the sanctuary and places it on the altar until the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy.

Despite its brevity, *B.M. Add. 14.494* provides precious information on the blessing of waters in the West Syrian rite of the eighth and ninth centuries. First, the manuscript assumes a monastic celebration, given its identification of the abbot as the presider. The Johannine Gospel pericope establishes Jesus as the center of the ritual celebration. The assembly departs the church and celebrates the blessing of waters at a suitable location, wherever a source of water is available. The rubrics are flexible and allow the community using the ritual book to adapt to their own local circumstances by encouraging them to find a suitable source of water, whatever is most convenient, and stipulating a river only if one is in the vicinity. The use of torches and incense accompanying the procession to the place of the blessing of waters reveals the liturgy's solemnity. The return of the blessed water to the altar table in the sanctuary and its covering with the same veil used for the Eucharistic gifts punctuates the rite's solemnity. The editor of the manuscript seems to encourage flexibility in adapting the celebration of this rite, possibly indicating a widespread diffusion of the liturgical book.[18] "Great are You" is the fourth prayer recited, and is attributed to Proclus of Constantinople.

Armenian Rite: San Lazaro 457 (Ninth–Tenth Centuries)

San Lazaro 457 is an Armenian liturgical source dating from the ninth–tenth centuries containing the blessing of waters on Epiphany.[19] F.C. Conybeare published an English translation of its rite for the blessing of Epiphany waters in 1905. Table 3.3 presents the order for the blessing of waters on Epiphany in *San Lazaro 457*:[20]

---

[17] The authors refer to these texts as both "oraisons" and "canons," and only mention the title of the fourth prayer, ibid., p. 221.

[18] Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay remark on the general brevity of rubrics in the manuscript as a whole, with the Epiphany water blessing office serving as an exception, ibid., pp. 220–21.

[19] In the Armenian Epiphany Rite, Conybeare, p. 166. On the dating and contents of *San Lazaro 457*, see Conybeare, Introduction, ix–xiii. See also G. Munarini, 244.

[20] Conybeare, pp. 165–178.

Table 3.3 Blessing of Waters in *San Lazaro 457*

- Priest takes the cross and the gospel book; antiphon; procession to water.
- Canon: Psalm 29: *Ktzord*: The voice of the Lord is upon the waters.
- Readings:
- II Kings 2: 19–22
- Isaiah 12:3–6
- Ezekiel 47: 1–12
- 1 Corinthians 10:1–4
- Alleluia: Psalm 93
- Gospel: Matthew 3:1–17
- Litanic biddings (eight)
- Blessing of water (attributed to Basil of Cappadocia)
- Prayer: "Blessed art Thou, Lord God Almighty"
- Poetic "todays" (51 total)
- Prayer: "Great are You"
- Peace
- Prayer: "O Living God"
- "And next, he makes the sign of the Lord with the cross and the myrrh, saying: Let this water be blessed, anointed, and hallowed in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit."

San Lazaro 457 provides a useful witness to the blessing of waters in Armenia. The description emphasizes the texts of the prayers, and there are few rubrics or instructions. There are three Old Testament lections and two from the New Testament, and they are generally brief. The Old Testament accounts refer to instances of God's provision for humanity through the agency of prophets and instrumentality of water. The lection from Paul's letter to the Corinthians identifies Christ as the source of water from which the Israelites drank when they entered the promised land. The Matthean Gospel lection is an anamnesis of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan.

Three of the eight litanic biddings concern the water:

1. For this water here before us and for those who are about to receive blessings therefrom, let us pray to the Lord.
2. That it may receive the blessing of Jordan, by the grace of the only-begotten who hath enlightened us, let us pray to the Lord.
3. That it may be found to be the healing of the souls and bodies of us, let us pray to the Lord.[21]

[21] Ibid., pp. 165–6.

Two themes from these biddings are noteworthy: first, the identification of the blessings as the healing of souls and bodies; and second, the strong Christological motif, where the water is blessed by the grace of Christ.

The first portion of the prayer attributed to Basil of Cappadocia contains several references to the creation story in Genesis. The prayer continues by referencing select aspects of God's salvation of humanity through the instrumentality of water in the Old Testament. The prayer then shifts into an anamnesis of Christ's coming before commencing into a lengthy series of poetic "todays." A hallmark of the prayer is its clear link between Joshua of the Old Testament and Jesus in the New Testament.[22]

San Lazaro 457's poetic "todays" call upon creation to rejoice in commemorating the Epiphany feast, and praise God for saving humankind before beginning the "Great are You" prayer. The ritual action following "Great are You" is also noteworthy: the waters are blessed with the cross and anointed with myrrh. The anointing of the waters accentuates the frequently occurring exorcistic themes in the euchology. The forty-second verse of the poetic "todays" states, "today mankind was saved from Satan, and filled with boldness, they soar with the angels into heaven."[23] The concluding prayer, "O Living God," also contains an apotropaic verse: "Expel therefrom all hurt and evil taint, and all violence of Satan."[24]

In summary, the blessing of waters celebrated in the ninth- to tenth-century Armenian euchologion commemorates God's victory over humanity's enemies, expressed by select stories from the Old Testament, and punctuated by Jesus' baptism in the Jordan which destroys the dragon, who personifies all evil spirits. In the Armenian water blessing, Jesus' entrance into the Jordan is the centerpiece of humanity's salvation. The texts do not explicate it, but the waters are similar to Sheol, or Hades, a theological motif associated with Jesus' baptism in the Jordan in early Syriac literature and the Armenian baptismal liturgies.[25]

Byzantine Rite

The Barberini Euchologion (BAR) begins my presentation on the Byzantine liturgical sources of Stage One.[26] Representing the periphery of the Byzantine commonwealth, BAR contains elements of Constantinopolitan liturgy, and is an amalgamation of liturgical traditions. Table 3.4 presents the blessing of waters in BAR:

---

22 Conybeare, pp. 166–75.

23 Ibid., p. 174. See also no. 51: "Today the shut and barred gate of the garden is opened to mankind, for the dragon adversary was swallowed up amidst the waters, overcome by the Lord," ibid., p. 175, and consistent with the text leading up to the commencement of the "todays" quoted in n. 27.

24 Ibid., p. 177.

25 See Kilian McDonnell, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan: the Trinitarian and Cosmic Order of Salvation* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 156–66.

26 BAR nos. 127–34 (Parenti and Velkovska, pp. 132–9).

Table 3.4 Blessing of waters in BAR

- Ektene: 17 petitions
- Prayer: "Lord, Jesus Christ"
- First of two introductory prologues, "Uncreated Trinity"
- Second Prologue, "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel…"
- Prayer: "Great are You"
- Greeting of peace
- Prayer of inclination
- Sprinkling
- Troparion: "Come, let us imitate the wise virgins"
- Prayer (recited in courtyard): "God our God"
- Dismissal

Several items are notable, beginning with the first entry, as BAR does not appear to provide a title for the rite, though one can adduce that "Διακονικὰ εἰς τόν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανῶν" constitutes the title "ἁγιασμὸς τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανῶν," literally the "sanctification of Holy Theophany."[27] The diakonika contain an ektene, not a synapte, and one section of petitions is anamnetic in character, followed immediately by a series of petitions concentrating on the sanctification of the waters. The consistent use of the abbreviation "δεόμεθα" or "δεόμεθά σου" instead of "τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν" indicates an ektene, since "δεόμεθά σου" simply abbreviates "δεόμεθά σου καὶ ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον." Compare this to the synapte for the blessing of baptismal water in BAR's rite of Baptism, which employs "τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν."[28]

The silent ("μυστικῶς") prayer completing the ektene explicitly addresses Jesus Christ. BAR consistently indicates the ritual's celebration by a priest ("ὁ ἱερεύς"), with no reference to the participation of the patriarch. BAR refers to both episcopal ("ὁ ἀρχιερεύς"),[29] and patriarchal ("ὁ πατριάρχης")[30] celebrations for other occasions, so one can assume that the blessing of waters would normally be celebrated by a priest. The formulary provides two prologues, the first Prologue consisting of an apologetic prayer addressing the Holy Trinity, while the second Prologue begins with a doxology, and then proceeds into a series of poetic strophes beginning with the word "today," which express the main themes of the feast: creation and its transformation (verses 2–7, 13, 15); Christology, namely God's condescension through Christ (verses 8–10); baptismal motifs (verses 11, 12, 14,

27 BAR no. 127.1.

28 BAR, nos. 120, 125.

29 BAR no. 141.2, for the consecration of myron.

30 BAR no. 150.5, for the dedication of a church. It is possible that the terms "ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς" and "ὁ πατριάρχης" are synonymous in BAR.

18), the sanctification of the waters (verses 1, 15, 16); and, eschatology (verses 16, 17, 20). The rite proceeds to the "Great are You" prayer, a prayer of inclination, a reference to the priest sprinkling the people, the singing of hymns, and another prayer, "God our God," recited in the church's courtyard. An appointed time and date of celebration, detailed rubrics for each liturgical component, and lections are absent from the formulary. Strictly speaking, this is not surprising, since Euchologia technically contain only the clergy's liturgical components, while other liturgical books provide the material needed for singers, though this Euchologion mentions a Troparion at the end of the rite.

Typikon of the Great Church (Holy Cross 40, Patmos 266)

Though dated somewhat later than BAR, the Typikon of the Great Church (TGC) furnishes information on the celebration of the Epiphany blessing of waters at the Great Church in Constantinople. It also raises additional questions on the nature and meaning of the collection of components comprised by the celebration. In TGC, the festal liturgical celebrations commence with the *paramone* ("ἡ παραμονὴ"), or festal Vespers, on January 5.[31] Twelve Old Testament readings constitute the core of the *paramone*, which is followed by a Eucharistic liturgy.[32] TGC then provides the following instructions:

> At the dismissal, the deacon does not dismiss the people, he does not say "let us depart in peace," but rather "wisdom." The patriarch proceeds to the middle of the sanctuary with deacons, torches, and incense, and the deacon intones a synapte, and after this, the patriarch says the prayer of the waters. After fulfilling the blessing of the waters, the patriarch goes out to the fountain of the baptistery, and the chanters intone the Troparion from the ambo, in tone 8: "[The] voice of the Lord upon the waters cries, saying: come, all, receive the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of understanding, the spirit of the fear of God, who is manifest." While chanting this, everyone exits, proceeding to the baptistery, and there the prayer of the blessing of waters is done.[33]
>
> Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν οὐκ ἀπολύει ὁ διάκονος τὸν λαόν, τουτέστιν οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν, ἀλλά· Σοφία, καὶ εἰσέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης μετὰ διακόνων καὶ μανουαλίων καὶ θυμιατόν, καὶ ποιεῖ διάκονος συναπτήν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ πατριάρχης τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων εὐχήν. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς εὐλογίας τῶν ὑδάτων, ἐξερχομένου τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ τοῦ λουτῆρος, ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι

[31] TGC, p. 174. In addition to the feast, TGC commemorates St Appolinarius and St Gregory of Akrita. TGC also notes that the fast ("νηστεία") occurs on Friday whenever the feast falls on Sunday or Monday. Additional rubrical adjustments are made in hymnody and readings.

[32] Ibid., p. 182.

[33] Translated by author.

> τροπάριον. ἦχος πλ. δ΄· Φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων βοᾷ λέγουσα· δεῦτε, λάβετε πάντες Πνεῦμα σοφίας, Πνεῦμα συνέσεως, Πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐπιφανέντος. Καὶ ψάλλοντες αὐτό, ἐξέρχονται πάντες εἰς τὸν λουτῆρα, καὶ γίνεται καὶ ἐκεῖ εὐχὴ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων εὐλογίας.[34]

TGC further denotes three readings performed from the ambo: Isaiah 35:1–10, Isaiah 55:1–13, Isaiah 12:3–6.[35]

TGC produces several notable liturgical components. In its opening description of the feast, TGC employs the title "τῶν φωτῶν," or feast "of the lights." TGC also indicates that the blessing of waters was celebrated in the sanctuary near the altar, furnishing a significant point on the context of the celebration.[36] TGC, written for the liturgy of Hagia Sophia, indicates that the patriarch himself ("ὁ πατριάρχης") presides. The rubrics prescribe the chanting of a synapte, not an ektene, different from BAR. The rubrics also prescribe the chanting of the Troparion "Voice of the Lord" at the conclusion of the rite.

Some Constantinopolitan sources have indicated the presence of two baptistries at Hagia Sophia, one great, and one little, though TGC does not distinguish between baptistries for the Epiphany feast.[37] Thomas Mathews identifies one operating baptistery at Hagia Sophia, in the southwest corner, but its small size likely precludes the participation of an assembly for a major portion of the ritual.[38] Rowland Mainstone places the location of the Great Baptistery somewhere to the north of the Church, near the skeuophylakion, though the exact location is unknown since no trace of it remains.[39] It is more likely that the assembly departed for the blessing of waters at the Great Baptistery while the assigned readers remained in the Church to chant the three lections from Isaiah.

Both BAR and TGC refer to a second, separate prayer ("God our God" in BAR) for the blessing of waters, occurring at the end of the rite. Juan Mateos asserts that this second prayer of sanctification is designated for the Baptism of catechumens which will occur during the liturgy on the day of the feast itself,

---

[34] TGC, p. 182.

[35] "Three lections are read on the ambo" (ibid). Mateos concludes that the readings were simultaneous with the patriarch's prayer in the baptistery and so adds the word "cependant" to his translation of the rubric which gives the readings (TGC, p. 183).

[36] TGC, p. 182.

[37] See the discussion in Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University, 1971), p. 190. Mateos also notes the distinction between the two baptistries, but remarks that TGC does not indicate which of the two was used for the baptisms celebrated on the Epiphany feast (TGC, p. 183, n. 2).

[38] Mathews, pp. 89, 92.

[39] Rowland Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), pp. 120–24.

January 6.[40] TGC's rubrics for January 6 signify the celebration of baptisms during Orthros, led by the patriarch, which conclude with the chanting of Psalm 31, and the beginning of the liturgy with the chanting of the antiphons.[41] Clearly, TGC assumes that baptisms would be celebrated on January 6, which could lead one to conclude that the second prayer was for the blessing of baptismal water.

The last prayer appearing in BAR's formulary, "God our God," is recited at a bowl of water ("ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ τοῦ μεσιαύλου") in the middle of the Church's atrium.[42] The prayer's title evokes a baptismal purpose ("Εὐχὴ ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἁγίων βαπτισμάτων τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανῶν"), but there is no evidence to suggest that baptisms were celebrated in the courtyard. Thus, there is not sufficient evidence to confirm Mateos's assertion on the prayer's original baptismal purpose.[43] While the rubrics of TGC and title for the prayer in BAR denote a prayer for the blessing of baptismal water, the prayer's location and the lack of any correspondence between its text and Baptism indicate either the disappearance of the original oration with this prayer inserted as a replacement, or a stage of transition wherein the celebration of Baptism had fallen out of practice, but had not completely disappeared from the rubrics. That baptisms were celebrated by the patriarch after Orthros on January 6 is not in question. The evidence is not sufficiently weighty to support the notion that the prayer "God our God" was recited to sanctify baptismal water.

In summary, TGC provides valuable information about the celebration of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in Constantinople's cathedral tradition in the tenth century. The patriarch celebrates the blessing of the waters in the sanctuary. The celebration includes a diaconal synapte, the singing of the Troparion "Voice of the Lord," and three readings from the ambo at the end of the ritual.

---

[40] "This is the blessing of the waters for the Baptism of catechumens that will take place the next day," "C'est la bénédiction des eaux pour le baptême des catéchumènes qui aura lieu le lendemain" (TGC, p. 183, n. 3).

[41] Ibid., pp. 184–6.

[42] Mathews, pp. 88–90, who identifies Paul the Silentiary as his main source for the presence of the fountain in the atrium. Also see similar testimony reported by a fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim to Constantinople, who asserts that crosses are immersed into a stone jar made of jasper: "In front of the west door in the great precincts of St. Sophia a place has been fashioned where they bless water. There is a stone cup of precious jasper there, and they immerse crosses in this cup. There is a lead-covered canopy over this cup; there are four cypresses and two laurels there," in George P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984), p.121.

[43] Arranz also disagrees with Mateos, based on the lack of cohesion between the content of the prayer and Baptism, and also the courtyard location. See Arranz, "Euchologe slave," pp. 35–6.

Sinai 957, Sinai 958 (Ninth–Tenth Centuries)

Sinai 957 of the ninth to the tenth centuries, a Euchologion representing Constantinopolitan and Palestinian liturgy, furnishes evidence of new or independent material. Its structure follows:

Table 3.5 Blessing of Waters in *Sinai 957*

- Synapte (13 total petitions)
- Prayer, "O Lord Jesus Christ," attributed to St Germanos, recited by bishop, quietly.[44]
- Prayer (aloud): "The heavenly principles beholding your creation" ("οἱ τῶν ἀνωτάτων στοιχείων τὴν κτίσιν ἀθροίσαντες")
- Poetic "todays"[45]
- "Great are You" prayer.
- End of Eucharistic Liturgy.

Sinai 957 evidences both independent material and some amplification of the Constantinopolitan evidence represented by BAR and TGC. First, unlike BAR and TGC, *Sinai 957* does not mention any hymns or lections. Like TGC, *Sinai 957* contains no reference to an ektene, but instead opens with a synapte of 13 total petitions, most of which define the ultimate purpose of the rite, namely the removal of evil, and the healing of spiritual maladies. The "τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν" conclusion to the petitions confirms it as a synapte.[46]

The prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," recited quietly ("to himself"), is attributed to the eighth-century patriarch of Constantinople, St Germanos. It seems to confirm the Constantinopolitan provenance of *Sinai 957*.[47] Dmitrievsky did not publish the entire text of the prayer, but the first two lines are identical to BAR no. 128.[48] The next prayer ("The Heavenly Principles"), recited aloud, rarely appears in the

[44] "And while this is being said by the deacon, the bishop prays to himself (the prayer) of Patriarch Germanos" (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 7).

[45] Dmitrievsky's edition does not publish all of the poetic "todays," but Dmitrievsky notes their compatibility with Goar's edition, with only a few differences. See Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum*, 2nd edn (Venice: Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730; Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), pp. 369–70.

[46] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 7.

[47] See Parenti and Velkovska, p. 49, n. 60. *Sinai 957* attributes only "Lord Jesus Christ" to St Germanos, not the Prologues (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 7).

[48] Ibid.

Byzantine Euchologia, so its inclusion here is significant.[49] The prayer elaborates God's awesome work of creation, and was probably an early apology eventually replaced by another prayer, with its notions of seeking approval, and allusions to thanksgiving for having been made worthy. Its content differs from BAR's "Uncreated Trinity," but the two Prologues share the same apologetic purpose.[50] The poetic "todays" concluding the Prologue of *Sinai 957* are similar to those in BAR. The final instructions in *Sinai 957* seem to confirm that the blessing of waters was celebrated towards the end of liturgy on January 5, since the singers are to chant the "Plerotheto," with the dismissal to follow, providing a natural completion to the liturgy.[51] TGC described a similar conclusion in which the deacon did not dismiss the people.

Sinai 957 also consistently refers to the celebrant as "ὁ ἀρχιερεύς" or "ὁ πατριάρχης," using the terms interchangeably and denoting the presidency of the patriarch at the celebration of the blessing of waters. An additional rubrical note suggests that the patriarch might bless waters at the imperial palace: "Whenever the patriarch blesses the waters in the palace, he places this at the end of the prayer: and save, Lord, your faithful servants [the] emperor."[52] This suggests that the last portion of the "Great are You" prayer, which consists of a series of intercessions, may have originated or been modified in an imperial context, with the emperor included among the commemorations. BAR includes a similar intercession at the end of its "Great are You" prayer, but the reference to a blessing of waters at the palace raises the question of a separate celebration for the emperor. Unfortunately, no contemporaneous evidence clarifies the issue, especially since the tenth-century *De ceremoniis* only furnishes the acclamations intoned by the Blues and the Greens for the festal processions.[53] The next historical reference to the participation of the patriarch of Constantinople in the blessing of the waters at the imperial palace occurs in Pseudo-Kodinos's fourteenth-century treatise on imperial offices.[54]

Sinai 958 (tenth century), originally a presbyteral Euchologion of Palestinian provenance, also produces independent material, as illustrated by its structure in Table 3.5 (new material and possible developmental changes are highlighted by *italics*):

---

[49] In her study on the blessing of waters in the Sinai Slavonic Euchologion tradition, Tatiana Afanaseva indicates that the prayer also appears in *St. Petersburg Greek 226* of the tenth century, see Afanaseva, p. 32. *St. Petersburg Greek 226* is described and analyzed by Andre Jacob, "L'euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. Gr. 226 (Xe siècle)," *Le Museon* 78 (1965), pp. 173–214.

[50] See BAR no. 121.1, 2 (Appendix C).

[51] The *Plerotheto* ("Let our mouths be filled") is the hymn sung at the end of the Byzantine Communion psalmody. For a description of its historical development, see R. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: The Precommunion Rites,* vol. 5, OCA 261 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 2000), pp. 288–300.

[52] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 8.

[53] *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. Vogt, ch. 3, pp. 35–7.

[54] Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, p. 220.

Table 3.6 Blessing of waters in *Sinai 958*[55]

- Departure to source of water.
- *Troparion: "Voice of the Lord."*
- *[Rubric to "look up" Epistle and Gospel*]
- Synapte (14 total petitions).
- Prayer "Lord, Jesus Christ," quietly.
- *Prologue: "We glorify You, All-holy Master, all-powerful, King before the ages"*
- Poetic "todays"
- "Great are You" prayer
- Other prayer of the Lights, "God, our God"[56]
- *Lighting of crosses*.[57]
- Hymnody : "When You were Baptized in the Jordan," and "The Hand of the Baptizer Trembled"
- Return to Church, dismissal.
- Readings from Prophets.
- Prokeimenon "The waters saw," and the verse: "the sea saw and fled."
- Readings from 1 Corinthians, Gospel of Mark
- Concluding Prayers and Dismissal

Sinai 958 provides the first major variant in the beginning of the blessing of waters in the Byzantine rite, as the departure to the location of the blessing is accompanied by the chanting of the assigned Troparion. TGC had assigned this same Troparion as part of the concluding rites of the liturgy. The Euchologion's description of the epistle and Gospel is confusing, as they are referenced twice within the formulary, first after the Troparion "Voice of the Lord," and then again, after the dismissal of the people and conclusion of the rite. Both descriptions appear to be misplaced and somewhat clumsy. TGC positions the Isaiah readings at the end of the rite, so it could seem to make sense simply to append the Prokeimenon and New Testament readings after the Isaiah readings, though they eventually find a new position at the beginning of the rite, as will be demonstrated below. A literal translation of the initial rubric "Ζήτει ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγέλιον," "look up the epistle and Gospel," could explain the additional material, as a reminder to prepare the New Testament readings, possibly an indication of the novelty of the reading. This would make the actual proclamation of these readings following the prophets and Prokeimenon at the end of the rite plausible, intoned together as a group, and appended to an already constituent part of the rite, the reading of the prophets.

55 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 27.

56 "Other prayer of the Lights," ibid.

57 "And the priest lights the life-giving crosses," ibid.

Sinai 958 also marks the first occurrence of the Prologue with the text "We Glorify You," which eventually assumes prevalence as the rite of blessing of waters develops. *Sinai 958* alone prescribes the lighting of "life-giving" crosses following the "Great are You" prayer, with no explanation of what is done with the crosses. The second prayer of blessing ("God our God") also occurs in *Sinai 958*, but the Euchologion does not mention Baptism, as was the case with BAR. While hymnody is retained at this point in the rite, it has changed, with the appearance of the Troparion "When You were Baptized," and a second Troparion, "The Hand of the Baptizer." In summary, *Sinai 958* provides evidence of development and change in the celebration of the blessing of waters in the Byzantine rite from both BAR and TGC.

Grottaferrata Gb VII, Grottaferrata Gb X

Grottaferrata Gb VII (tenth century), copied in an Italo-Greek monastery near Rossano, and *Grottaferrata Gb X* (tenth–eleventh centuries) from Carbone, represent an amalgamation of liturgical traditions in the periphery of the Byzantine Commonwealth. They produce unique information on the blessing of waters.

Grottaferrata Gb X produces useful information on the designated time for the rite's celebration: "it is celebrated at Vespers after the readings at the paramone. And early after the completion of Orthros torches are distributed, we sing the Trisagion, and begin this Troparion."[58] As there is no reference to a Eucharistic liturgy, *Grottaferrata Gb X* appears to denote two celebrations of the blessing of waters, the first occurring after the readings at the paramone, and the second early in the morning, after Orthros has been completed. The rite begins with the singing of the Trisagion, and then proceeds to an elaborate series of Troparia with intercalated psalm verses:

Table 3.7 Troparia in *Grottaferrata Gb X*

- "To the Voice of the one crying in the wilderness"
- *Verse: The waters saw you …*
- And again the same Troparion ("To the voice of one crying")
- *Verse: Who is so great a god as God.*
- "John Cried to the Master," Tone 4
- *Verse: Glory to you.*
- And again the same Troparion ("John cried to the Master")
- *Verse: The sea …*
- "Behold, the Holy Spirit on the Jordan"
- *Verse: What ailed you, sea …*

[58] In Conybeare, p. 421.

- "Come, let us imitate the wise virgins"
- Glory … and [now and ever]
- Immediately sing the Troparion in Tone 8
- "Voice of the Lord"

Grottaferrata Gb X contains four hymns with intercalated psalm positioned at the beginning of the blessing of waters. The singing of "Voice of the Lord" concludes the set of hymns. The rite of *Grottaferrata Gb X* continues with a Prokeimenon, two Isaiah lections, and a Gospel reading (Luke 3:1). *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* both contain an anamnetic ektene, as does BAR. The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains many more petitions than that of BAR. *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains the Trinitarian apology prayer "Uncreated Trinity" and the second Prologue "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel," while the order for the Prologue in *Grottaferrata Gb X* begins with a prayer addressing Christ, "Glory to you, Christ" ("Δόξα σοι Χριστέ"), followed by "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel."

The end of the blessing of waters provides the most interesting information, as both Euchologia mention the second prayer for the blessing of waters, "God our God."[59] Both *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* denote the singing of the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined." In *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, a cross and torch are plunged into the waters during the singing of the Troparion. *Grottaferrata Gb X* mentions the plunging of holy items during the Troparion, and concludes with the singing of the Troparion "When You were Baptized."[60]

Grottaferrata Gb VII contains a prayer over the waters for the healing of illnesses, "Creator of the Waters," which could have been a constituent part of the blessing of waters in the early stage of its history in the Byzantine rite. The prayer "Creator of the Waters" also occurs in BAR, but is located outside the liturgical context of the Epiphany blessing.[61] André Jacob notes the position of this prayer at the conclusion of the blessing of waters in the West Syrian rite and assumes its original inclusion in the Byzantine Epiphany rite, which *Grottaferrata Gb VII* would seem to affirm. "Creator of the Waters" is the fourth prayer in the order for the blessing of waters in *British Museum Add. 14.495,* a tenth–eleventh century liturgical manuscript representing the West Syrian tradition.

---

[59] *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains a variant incipit for the prayer: "Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸ πικρὸν ὕδωρ Μωσέως."

[60] The manuscript uses the word ἐγκόλπια, which literally means things that are carried, or held in a bosom. This probably refers to the items carried in procession, which are not identified, but could have included a cross (Conybeare, p. 427).

[61] See BAR no. 231 (p. 213), which Parenti and Velkovska categorize under prayer for various occasions. See also A. Jacob, "Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων de l'euchologe Barberini," *Byzantion* 56 (1986), pp. 139–47.

Conclusions on Stage One, Eighth to Tenth Centuries

The blessing of waters from the eighth to the tenth centuries reflects a state of flux and development. In the Byzantine rite, interchangeability and diversity appear in the title of the feast throughout the liturgical manuscripts, using both "the lights" and "holy Theophany," as evidenced in *Sinai 958* which uses both titles, "the lights" in the incipit of the festal prayer behind the ambo ("Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος τῶν Φώτων"), and Theophany for the rite of the blessing of the waters ("Εἰς τὴν εὐλόγησιν τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων").[62] In all likelihood, the use of "the Lights" in the Constantinopolitan tradition is a retention of the ancient use of the word. Gabriele Winkler presents the significance of light in her discussion of various Gospel and patristic sources mentioning the descent of fire into the water during Jesus' Baptism, and the appearance of a light, which is usually associated with Jesus himself, as proof of his divinity.[63]

Only four core components can be characterized as stable in the Byzantine rite: the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ"; the "Great are You" prayer; the prayer at the inclination of the heads; and, the other prayer for the blessing of the waters ("God our God"). BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* open with an ektene, but TGC, *Sinai 957*, and *Sinai 958* all denote a synapte, indicating an important difference in the structure of the rite within Stage One, and possibly the imposition of a new influence. The ektene could be a vestige from an earlier version of the liturgy, one that included a procession, and perhaps a rogational and supplicatory character. The ektene originates from the provenance of stational liturgy, and functioned as a staple of processions, frequently following the Gospel.[64] References to the celebration of the blessing of waters at rivers in the prehistory would accommodate a procession, and thus an ektene. The rite's celebration in the vicinity of the church could explain the replacement of the ektene with a synapte. The synapte could have been used in the Palestinian rite, given its occurrence in *Sinai 957* and *Sinai 958*.

TGC alone mentions the celebration of the blessing of waters in the sanctuary, as *Sinai 958* assigns it to wherever the water container was located. The prayer "God our God" was intoned at the bowl in BAR, and another prayer, possibly "God

---

62 Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 22, 26.

63 Winkler, "The Appearance of Light at the Baptism of Jesus and the Origins of the Feast of Epiphany: An Investigation of Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Sources," in Maxwell Johnson (ed.), *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2000)
pp. 294, 309–310, 318–9.

64 On the history of the ektene, see J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine : étude historique,* OCA 191 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1971), pp. 148–50; and, J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy,* OCA 228 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1987), pp. 220–25.

our God," was recited in the baptistery in TGC, indicating variety in the locations of the prayers of the liturgy among the sources in Stage One. The chanting of "Voice of the Lord" at the beginning of the liturgy in *Sinai 958* and *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, and the collection of Troparia with psalm verses in *Grottaferrata Gb X* mark a notable development, while the selection of hymns towards the end of the liturgy significantly differs between sources. There is little agreement on the position and contents of the readings, as *Grottaferrata Gb X* places them at the beginning, and *Sinai 958* appends a Prokeimenon and New Testament lections to the Isaiah readings at the end. Variation also characterizes the contents of the Prologues and the activities at the end of the liturgy.

In summarizing the Byzantine rite, the celebration of the blessing of waters in the cathedral tradition of the eighth to tenth centuries reflects a state of liturgical practice in transition. Stage One reveals a rite of the blessing of waters consisting of liturgical components originating from various liturgical centers. The positioning of Troparia at the beginning of the rite and the preference for the synapte in *Sinai 957* and *Sinai 958* probably represents the Palestinian rite in the Byzantine rite, with the structural similarity to the Armenian *San Lazaro 457* noted. This instance of the fusion and coincidence of varying liturgical components conforms to Byzantine liturgical history, as Constantinopolitan, Palestinian, and perhaps other traditions converge, since the content of the liturgy represents diversity in practice according to liturgical center. Only the four prayers are consistently present in all the sources.

The West Syrian and Armenian rites evidence both similarity and difference from the Byzantine blessing of waters. The West Syrian and Armenian rites illustrate a preference for positioning the scriptural lessons towards the beginning of the rite, while the place for the readings in the Byzantine rite is fluid. The Armenian rite has the following elements in common with the Byzantine rite: the rite begins with hymnody ("Voice of the Lord"), both rites contain a unit with litanic biddings, both rites contain a prayer followed by a series of poetic "todays," and both rites describe how the celebrant blesses the waters, though the Armenian action of blessing differs, since it includes the use of myrrh. The Byzantine, West Syrian, and Armenian rites all have in common another significant liturgical component: the recitation of the "Great are You" prayer. Each rite has its own salient points, yet there is no sufficient evidence to illustrate a dependency of one rite upon another. The solemn celebration of the blessing of waters, the proclamation of scriptural lessons, and the "Great are You" oration preceded by poetry are the elements of commonality, particularly between the Armenian and Byzantine rites. The structure of the rite from the synapte through the actual blessing of waters is similar in the Armenian and Byzantine rites. Clearly, "Great are You" functions as the prominent prayer of water blessing in the Eastern liturgical tradition of the eighth through tenth centuries. The Byzantine sources demonstrate fluidity and diversity in the structure and content of the rite, and it is quite possible that each of the three rites developed within its own tradition, lacking significant influence from external liturgical centers and illuminating very little about the shape of earlier liturgical structures. Even the common components of the regional rites

have textual variants, an indicator of editorial modification in each respective tradition. Thus, in Stage One, the litanic biddings, Prologue, poetic "todays," and particularly the "Great are You" prayer are the most prominent aspects of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical tradition.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 4
History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 2 (11th–13th Centuries)

The eleventh through thirteenth centuries provide several important liturgical testimonies to the blessing of waters. This stage of liturgical development is important because it offers two sources from the West Syrian liturgical tradition, several foundational Byzantine cathedral Euchologia, and numerous Typika from the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition.

British Museum Add. 14.495 (B.M. Add. 14.495) is an unedited liturgical manuscript of West Syrian provenance dating from the tenth–eleventh centuries, and contains the rite for the blessing of waters. This manuscript also contains an anaphora attributed to St Cyril of Alexandria, another attributed to Severus of Antioch, and several additional "liturgical forms and prayers."[1] E.A. Budge published the Syriac text for the order of the blessing of waters contained in this manuscript, along with an English translation, in 1901.[2] *Paris Coislin 213*, an important eleventh-century testimony to Constantinopolitan patriarchal liturgy, provides evidence for post-iconoclast Byzantine worship.[3] Arranz categorizes the eleventh-century *Sinai 959* as a Constantinopolitan patriarchal euchology, though it may also contain Palestinian influences.[4] *British Museum Add. 14.499 (B.M. Add. 14.499)* is a West Syrian liturgical source of the eleventh–twelfth centuries, containing the full text for the blessing of waters.[5] *Sinai 973* of the twelfth

---

[1] "The Anaphora of St. Cyril of Alexandria; together with various liturgical forms and prayers by Severus of Antioch and others. On vellum, of the xth or xith century. Small Quarto," the index description in the manuscripts catalogue of The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/11550.htm&Search=Add.+14495&Highlight=F (accessed June 14, 2011).

[2] E.A. Budge, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany* (London, New York: Oxford University, 1901), pp. 65–78.

[3] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 993–1053; M. Arranz, *L'eucologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo xi: hagiasmateron & archieratikon* (Rome: editrice pontificia università gregoriana, 1996), pp. 198–205 (for the Epiphany offices). See M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain," pp. 309–14.

[4] In Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 42–64. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain," pp. 305–9; Parenti and Velkovska, p. 50.

[5] The incomplete manuscript contains the anaphora of St James, the blessing of waters attributed to a Philoxenus, and the order of Baptism by Severus, according to the description in the manuscripts catalogue of the British Museum, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/

century includes a variety of liturgies, including Epiphany.[6] The twelfth-century Euchologion *Codex Bodleianus Auct. E. 5. 13* reflects Constantinopolitan liturgy, and it was used in the monastery of our Lord in "Lingua Phari," the first service book for the celebration of liturgical offices after the foundation of the monastery of our Lord of Messina in June 1132.[7] *Codex Grottaferrata Gb 1*, a thirteenth-century Euchologion frequently referred to as "Bessarion" as it has been widely interpreted as a gift from Cardinal Bessarion to the monastery of Grottaferrata during the fifteenth-century milieu of the Council of Florence, is regarded as a copy of a Constantinopolitan patriarchal Euchologion.[8]

Several liturgical Typika from the Constantinopolitan and Palestinian monastic traditions produce primary and supplementary evidence on the history of the celebration of the rite. The eleventh-century Typikon of Patriarch Alexis (TPA), purportedly a gift from the Constantinopolitan patriarch Alexis to a monastery founded in his name in AD 1034, provides an important witness to the early Constantinopolitan Studite monastic liturgy. TPA consists of an assimilation of Studite, Sabaitic, and Constantinopolitan cathedral liturgical traditions.[9] *Athens Greek 788* (*Evergetis Typikon*) of the eleventh century provides testimony on worship at the Evergetis monastery outside the city walls of Constantinople, probably to the immediate west of the Theodosian walls.[10] While this Typikon

---

manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/11554.htm&Search=14499&Highlight=F (accessed July 18, 2011). English translation in Budge, pp. 81–101.

[6] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 83–127.

[7] A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur 'in Lingua Phari' de Messine. Le Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 50 (1980), pp. 283–364, especially pp. 284–5. Jacob reproduces the outlines and partial portions of the text. Conybeare produces the entire text in pp. 430–35. See also Parenti and Velkovska, p. 43.

[8] Epiphany text in Arranz, *L'eucologio Costantinopolitano,* pp. 198–205. See also idem, "Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain," pp. 314–6; Parenti and Velkovska, p. 43.

[9] A. Pentkovsky (ed.), *Типикон Патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси,* (Moscow: Izdatelstva Moskovskoy Patriarchii, 2001). Pentkovsky's text is not a critical edition of the manuscripts. David Petras preceded Pentkovsky in producing a study of this Typikon, much of which has been published in D. Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, n.p., 1991). Petras does not provide a critical edition of the text. Petras's translation relies on *Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136,* while Pentkovsky primarily uses *Sinai 330*, apparently in order to avoid confusing Studite liturgy with practices peculiar to the cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod. For additional background, see Petras, pp. 1–10, and Pentkovsky, pp. 181–94, 231–2.

[10] I used Robert H. Jordan's text and translation in *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: September–February*, text, trans. Robert H. Jordan, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.5 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000), pp. 414–21. Also see A. Дмитріевский (ed.) *Описаніе Литургическихъ Рукописей,* Vol. 1 (Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1895. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), pp. 380–81, hereafter "Dmitrievsky-I". For history, dating,

has been characterized as Studite, it also occasionally represents cathedral and Sabaitic practices.[11] *Messina 115* constitutes a twelfth-century Studite monastic Typikon, authored by Bartholomew, who learned the Studite liturgical tradition on Mount Athos, and given to Luke, the abbot of the monastery of San Salvatore in Messina.[12] Other witnesses to the Studite tradition include *Vatican Greek 1877* of the thirteenth century,[13] and the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century *Hypotyposis* of Theodore of Studios, published in *Vatopedi 322*, whose last entry briefly describes the celebration of Epiphany.[14]

Constructing a purely Sabaitic ordo for the blessing of waters is challenging due to a lack of accessible editions, but a handful of resources help illustrate the Palestinian monastic celebration, beginning with the twelfth- to thirteenth-century Typika *Sinai 1094* and *Sinai 1096.*[15] The thirteenth-century *Coislin 402* provides supplementary information.[16] Table 4.1 lists the liturgical sources used for this chapter. As in the previous chapter, I begin with the three West Syrian liturgical sources and then proceed to the evidence from Byzantine sources, to maximize our employment of the method of comparative liturgy.

---

and provenance see John Klentos, "Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos (Codex Athens Ethnike B)," (PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1995), pp. 72–9. Also see Barbara Crostini-Lappin, "Structure and Dating of Codex *Atheniensis Graecus 788*, Typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Founded in 1049)," *Scriptorum: revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscripts,* 52.2 (1998), pp. 330–49.

[11] See Klentos, p. 79, and G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services* in the Greek Church, OCA 193 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1972), pp. 168–9.

[12] Introduction and background provided by Miguel Arranz in *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr. 115, AD 1131,* OCA 185 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum 1969).

[13] Dmitrievsky-I, pp. 836–93, the Typicon of S. Maria of Mili of Italian provenance. See Bertonière, p. 177.

[14] Dmitrievksy-I, pp. 224–38. See also Migne's version of Theodore's *Hypotyposis* in PG 99, 1717–8, which prescribes a different ordo.

[15] *Sinai 1094* (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.), microfiche. *Sinai 1096*, in A. Дмитріевский (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Руконисей,* Vol. 3 (Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1895. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 37, hereafter "Dmitrievsky-III". Also see Bertonière, pp. 233–4.

[16] On *Coislin 402,* Dmitrievsky-III, pp. 121–7, and Bertonière, p. 234.

Table 4.1 Liturgical Sources, 11th–13th Centuries

Name	Date	Book	Provenance
British Museum Add. 14.495	Tenth–eleventh century	Euchologion	West Syria
Paris Coislin 213	Eleventh Century	Euchologion	Constantinople
Sinai 330 *Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136*	Eleventh Century Eleventh Century	Typikon	Studite-Constantinople (Monastic)
Sinai 959	Eleventh Century	Euchologion	Constantinople
Athens Greek 788 (Evergetis Typikon)	Eleventh Century	Typikon	Studite-Saba Hybrid (Monastic) Near Constantinople
British Museum Add. 14.499 (B.M. Add. 14.499)	Eleventh–Twelfth centuries	Euchologion	West Syria
Athos-Panteleimon 162[17]	Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries	Euchologion	
Sinai 962[18]	Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries	Euchologion	Constantinople-Palestine
Sinai 961[19]	Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries	Euchologion	Constantinople-Palestine
Sinai 973	Twelfth Century	Euchologion	
Codex Bodleian Auct. E.5.13	Twelfth Century	Euchologion	Monastery of San Salvatore, Lingua Phari, Italy
Pontifical of Michael the Great	Twelfth Century	Pontifical	West Syria
Messina 115	Twelfth Century	Typikon	Studite-Italy (Monastic)
Turin 208 b.III.8	Twelfth Century	Typikon	Studite-Western (Monastic)
Sinai 1036[20]	Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries	Euchologion	
Sinai 1094	Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries	Typikon	Saba-Palestine (Monastic)
Sinai 1096	Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries	Typikon	Saba-Palestine (Monastic)
Codex Grottaferrata Gb 1 (Bessarion)	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	Constantinople
Patmos 104[21]	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	
Patmos 105	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	
Patmos 719	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	
Codex Athens National Library 670	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	
Sinai 966[22]	Thirteenth Century	Euchologion	
Vatican Greek 1877	Thirteenth Century	Typikon	Studite-Italy (Monastic)
Coislin 402	Thirteenth Century	Typikon	Saba-Palestine (Monastic)

[17] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 39–42, from the library of St Panteleimon on Mount Athos.

[18] Ibid., pp. 64–75. Parenti and Velkovska (p. 50) describe it as a presbyteral Euchologion containing prayers of Palestinian provenance.

[19] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 78–83. Presbyteral, with some Palestinian characteristics (Parenti and Velkovska, p. 50).

[20] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 146–152.

[21] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 153–7. He also publishes portions of *Patmos 105* (pp. 159–70), and *Patmos 719* (pp. 170–75).

[22] Ibid., pp. 202–19. Dmitrievsky believes that *Sinai 966* may be of South Italian provenance.

The West Syrian Rite

A West Syrian rite for the blessing of waters is included in the unedited manuscript *B.M. Add. 14.495*, dating from the tenth–eleventh centuries. The contents of the liturgy in this liturgical source are similar to those of *B.M. Add. 14.494* (eighth–ninth century) presented in the previous chapter. Table 4.2 presents the structure of the Epiphany blessing of waters in *B.M. Add. 14.495*:

Table 4.2 Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.495*

- Scripture Readings[23]
- Preparatory rites: incense, bottle, torches
- First prayer: "O Maker of the Worlds and Creator of all things" (priest burns incense during prayer)
- Peace
- Third Prayer: "O Lord of every nature"
- Priest blesses the water: "We bless these waters in the name of the Father. Amen. And in the name of the Son. Amen. And in the Name of the Holy Spirit. Amen."[24]
- Fourth prayer: "O Creator of the Waters"

B.M. Add. 14.495 provides the structure and nature of the West Syrian blessing of waters in the tenth–eleventh centuries. The structure of this Epiphany rite is generally similar to that of *B.M. Add. 14.494* from the eighth–ninth centuries, which also began with Scripture lessons. *B.M. Add. 14.495* assumes a monastic rite with four total prayers.[25] Its beginning is identical to *B.M. Add. 14.494*. The manuscript indicates the order of the four prayers, with "Great are You" occurring in the second place.

The first prayer, "O Maker of the Worlds," carries a soteriological theme, and contains two epicleses, the first brief, asking the Lord to "be among us," and the second pneumatic, asking for the nature of the water to be changed by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Creation theology emphasizing light grounds the prayer, with those

[23] The text does not indicate which lessons were read, stating "After the reading of Holy Scriptures which are proper for the occasion, they shall burn incense at the altar, and shall light as many candles as they can," in Budge, p. 65. The absence of a list of assigned readings is likely due to their appearance in a compatible liturgical book.

[24] "And at each of these sentences the priest shall make the [sign of] the cross over the waters. And after [this] he shall begin to say the words which ascribe holiness unto God, and all the people shall say them after him, and as they are saying them the priest shall take (literally, draw) some of the water, and the deacon shall carry it out in the order wherein they came forth," rubrics in Budge, p. 77.

[25] The rubrics mention the archimandrite following in the procession, ibid., p. 66.

drawing from the water receiving the blessings of everlasting life and remission of all sins, poignantly expressed by the vision of standing at God's right hand. The recitation of the Creed comes next, followed by the giving of peace, bowing of heads, and recitation of "Great are You." A second giving of peace precedes the third prayer, "Lord of Every Nature," also grounded by creation, containing a mixture of biblical anamneses, and followed by an epiclesis that does not explicitly call upon the Spirit. Partakers of the waters receive the blessings of redemption, conversion, and avoidance of the passions. At this point, the presider blesses the water making the sign of the cross, and the fourth prayer, "Creator of the Waters," expressing hope that partakers would receive healing, concludes the blessing of waters.

The rite's inclusion of two signs of peace is noteworthy. Each prayer has its own unique theological grounding. Beginning with the sign of peace, the third prayer's brevity and lack of pneumatic epiclesis suggests that it might be the oldest of the group in the West Syrian structure, especially since it is immediately followed by the main action of making the sign of the cross over the water. The structure itself appears to be an amalgamation of several prayers that have been clustered together, since each prayer has its own distinct theology, and each employs an epiclesis, asking God to bless the waters for the blessing of the people. The rite of the blessing of waters in *BM Add. 14.495* evidences a broad and rich array of soteriological themes, drawing heavily from creation theology and the theme of illumination, and clearly referring to the people's drawing from and drinking the water.

British Museum Add. 14.499 (B.M. Add. 14.499, 11th–12th Centuries)

B.M. Add. 14.499 is an unedited and incomplete manuscript of the eleventh and twelfth centuries containing select liturgical texts attributed to James, Severus, and Philoxenus. Budge published the entire text for the rite of the blessing of waters in this manuscript, as he did with *B.M. Add. 14.495*.[26] Table 4.3 presents the order for the blessing of waters in *B.M. Add. 14.499*, ostensibly representing its practice in West Syria in the eleventh–twelfth centuries.

Table 4.3 Blessing of Waters in *B.M. Add. 14.499*

- Responsory: "The Waters Saw Thee" (Ps. 77.16)
- Old Testament Readings:
- Exodus 15:22–25
- 2 Kings 2:19–22
- Ezekiel 47:1–12
- Isaiah 11:11–12:6
- New Testament Readings:
- Acts 8:26–39

[26] Budge, pp. 79–101.

- Hebrews 10:15–25
- John 4:5–24
- Priest burns incense at altar; procession to natural source of water begins; vessel to hold water covered with veil.
- Litanic biddings
- "Glory be to God, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and always"[27]
- First Prayer: "O Lord God of our fathers"
- Bowing of heads
- Second Prayer (bowing low, of apology): "O Lord God, thou mighty One"[28]
- Third prayer: "Great are You"[29]
- Priest blesses water with the sign of the cross three times[30]
- Fourth Prayer (bowing low): "O Creator of the waters"
- The priest fills the vessel with water while he and the people say, "Holy art Thou, Lord"[31]
- Fifth Prayer; "O Creator of the Waters"
- Water returned to sanctuary of the Church[32]

B.M. Add. 14.499 provides a complete description of the blessing of waters in the West Syrian rite. The rite begins with a responsory and a rather complete set of scriptural lections. The readings from Exodus, 2 Kings, Isaiah and Ezekiel emphasize God's provision for humanity through the instrumentality of water. The New Testament lessons are baptismal, and identify Jesus as the center of the celebration, the source of the living water. After the readings, the assembly goes to a natural source of water for the blessing of waters. After a diaconal litany, the presider begins the rite with five prayers. While the presider recites the prayers, the deacons hold fans over the water. The first prayer ("Lord God of our fathers") contains anamneses of God's salvation of humanity through the water from the Old and New Testaments, and asks God to bless and sanctify the waters "so that they may be for the health, and healing of the soul, and body, and the spirit of

---

27 "Then straightway the deacons shall take fans and begin to wave them over the waters, and the priest, standing upright, shall begin the sanctification of the waters," ibid., p. 85.

28 The priest recites this prayer while "bowing low," ibid., p. 88.

29 "Then, lifting up his voice," ibid., p. 91.

30 "These waters are blessed in the name of the Father, the living one, to life. Amen. And in the name of the Son, the living one, to life. Amen. And in the name of the Holy Spirit, the living one, to life. Amen." Ibid., p. 96.

31 Ibid., pp. 99–100.

32 "And the vessel wherein are the holy waters shall be placed under the table of oblation until the offering hath been offered up, and immediately afterwards they shall place it wheresoever they please. Now there are some who place it upon the holy table until the service cometh to an end, and afterwards they carry it away," ibid., p. 101.

all those who partake of them and make use of them."[33] The second prayer is apologetic in content, indicated by the presider's posture of bowing low, and he asks for remission of all sins before raising his voice to utter the third prayer, "Great are You."[34] The presider blesses the water three times using the sign of the cross, then bows low and recites the fourth prayer, "O Creator of the Waters." The fourth prayer asks God to sanctify the waters as protection against any opposing agency, which might use the waters for evil purposes "by means of sorcery, or the art of magic, or astrology, or incantations."[35] This prayer concludes by requesting redemption for those who partake of the water. The fifth prayer, "O Creator of the Waters," follows the acclamation "Holy art Thou, o God," and asks God to heal those who would partake of the waters.

The contents of *B.M. Add. 14.499* are more complete than those of *B.M. Add. 14.495*, and there are differences in the order and contents of the rite. It is clear that this particular Euchologion retains the Johannine lection of the Samaritan woman, emphasizing repetition in liturgical prayer for layers of grace to be imparted to those who partake of the waters.

The Pontifical of Michael the Great (AD 1172)

The twelfth-century Pontifical of Michael the Great comes from ms. *Vaticanus Syriacus 51* from the Vatican library.[36] Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay use the text translated from Syriac into Latin to reconstruct the twelfth-century blessing of waters. The Epiphany rite of this manuscript includes several pastoral instructions attributed to Jacob of Edessa (AD 708). The unedited manuscript does not contain any critical commentary on Jacob's instructions, so it is not possible to authenticate his authorship nor date the instructions to the eighth century.

Table 4.4 presents the structure of the blessing of waters in the Syrian Pontifical of Michael the Great:

---

33 Ibid., pp. 86–7.

34 The apologetic prayer contains interesting references to the healing of schisms and protection of the Church, revealing the solemnity of the occasion in an ecclesiological priority: "And we beseech and entreat Thy gracious mercy, which loveth man, to be mindful of the dangers and persecutions for Thy Holy name's sake of Thy Holy, catholic, and Apostolic Church from one end of the inhabited world unto the other, and do away from it schisms, and contentions, and divisions," ibid., p. 90.

35 Ibid., p. 97.

36 Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay, p. 212.

Table 4.4 Blessing of Waters in *Pontifical of Michael the Great*

- Preparatory rites: two bottles placed on table in sanctuary:
  - *Slûto d-šûrôyo*.
  - Ps. 51/*ényôno*;
  - Unidentified psalm (148–150?); *ényôno*
  - Magnificat and *mawerbo*
  - *Sedro* with *proimion*
  - *Qôlo* and *etro*[37]
- *ényône* and chants:
  - Genesis 29:1–14
  - Exodus 15:22–27
  - Judges 7:4–8
  - Ezekiel 47:1–12
  - Isaiah 12:1–6
- Procession with cross, candles, incense, and Gospel. It concludes in the middle of the Church, where a container of water is placed on a table. New Testament readings:
  - Acts 8:26–40 (without verse 37)
  - Hebrews 10:15–23
  - Alleluia verses
  - John 4:4–42
  - Στῶμεν καλῶς
  - *proimion* and *sedro*
  - Σοφία Θεῷ, πρόσχωμεν
  - Creed
  - Three prayers for the blessing of waters
  - First prayer: "God great and worthy of praise"
  - Second Prayer: "Creator of the waters and all things"
  - Deacon announces third prayer with "Let us stand aright, let us stand with fear, let us stand with chastity"
  - Third prayer: "Great are you"
  - Presider blesses the water with the sign of the cross nine times
  - Trisagion
  - Fourth Prayer: "God, good and the lover of humankind"

Several Old Testament readings precede the departure for the waters in the blessing of waters in the Pontifical of Michael the Great. The order of readings is similar to *B.M. Add. 14.499* of the eleventh–twelfth centuries, with the addition of the Genesis

[37] The authors note that the first part of the office is constructed on the model of the canonical hour of *safro* (prayer of matins), and not *ramso* (vespers); *safro* is customarily followed by a Mass, ibid., p. 217.

and Judges pericopes, and the absence of 2 Kings. The readings collectively express God's promises and acts of salvation through the instrumentality of water. The New Testament readings from Acts and Hebrews are explicitly baptismal, and the Gospel reading from John is on Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman, consistent with the earlier West Syrian sources. The readings from Hebrews and John also explicitly identify Jesus as the source of salvation through water, establishing the ritual context as an encounter with Jesus through the water.

The rest of the structure is somewhat similar to West Syrian antecedents in its employment of four main prayers. Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay provide only the incipits for the prayers, so it appears that the first and fourth prayers are particular to this pontifical. The second ("Creator of the waters") and third ("Great are You") prayers remain consistent with the previous West Syrian witnesses in *B.M. Add. 14.495* and *B.M. Add. 14.499*, though in a different order. The most significant details occur in the rubrics surrounding "Great are You." The deacon's call to the faithful to attend with fear, and the chanting of the prayer in the "mode of oblation" illustrate the solemnity of the occasion.[38] Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay interpret the context as situating the "Great are You" prayer as the equivalent to the Eucharistic Prayer at the liturgy.[39] The blessing of the water a total of 12 times with the sign of the cross is the equivalent to the gestures of blessing over the bread and wine at the Eucharistic consecration.[40] In summary, the ritual context highlights four themes: first, God's salvation of humanity through the instrumentality of water in the old and new covenants; second, the solemnity of the occasion by employing diaconal commands from the Eucharistic prayer; third, the notion of encounter with Jesus through the Hebrews and Johannine lections; and fourth, the emphasis on ritual action demonstrates the invocation of Jesus to be present during the epiclesis. The difference in the arrangement of prayers in this pontifical from its predecessors is not troublesome, since "Great are You" appears to be the core prayer of the West Syrian rite.

Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay also note that the pontifical contains instructions attributed to Jacob of Edessa on how to bless the waters, which they believe might date from the end of the seventh to the early eighth centuries.[41] The core of the instructions concerns the degree of solemnity ascribed to the ritual. The instructor states three important items: first, the ritual must not be celebrated at the altar, but at a source of water such as a lake or river; second, the ritual is a blessing, and not

---

38 Ibid., pp. 218–9.

39 "The prayer, 'Great are you, Lord, and marvelous are your works,' occupies the place held by the Eucharistic prayer and the recitation of the Institution in the anaphora," ibid., p. 219.

40 "The analogy between the twelve signs of the cross and the twelve traces the celebrant makes on the bread and the wine for the Eucharist is striking: three on the bread and three on the wine during the recitation of the Institution [Narrative], and three plus three on the chalice and on the paten at the epiclesis," ibid.

41 Ibid., p. 212.

a consecration; third, the four prayers are known to the West Syrian church from antiquity, since they have been inherited from their "fathers."[42] These instructions are probably responses to questions requesting clarification, which explains why they would be included in a pontifical. The third instruction on the antiquity of the four prayers establishes their permanence in the West Syrian ritual, in case any editor might be tempted to adjust the order. The first two instructions seem to distinguish this ritual celebration from the Eucharist by calling it a blessing and identifying a natural source of waters as its context. However, the context itself suggests greater solemnity in the ritual, as evidenced by the euchology surrounding the "Great are You" prayer and the ritual action of blessing the water.

The Byzantine Rite

The Byzantine blessing of waters in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries constitutes a stage of development that shares some resemblance to the eighth through tenth centuries, as variety continues to flourish for some liturgical components, while others are further stabilized. Among the sources consulted during this period are the Constantinopolitan Euchologia *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion (Grottaferrata Gb I*). This period is also critical because all of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic Typika consulted for this study belong to this period. The principal monastic Typika that produce a full description of the Epiphany rite are the *Typikon of Patriarch Alexis* (TPA, eleventh- to twelfth-century Studite), *Evergetis Typikon* (eleventh- to twelfth-century hybrid), *Sinai 1094* and *Sinai 1096* (twelfth- to thirteenth-century Sabaitic), *Messina 115* (twelfth-century Studite), and *Vatican Greek 1877* (thirteenth-century Studite). Having established a basic core for the Byzantine blessing of waters, only the salient features for the sources will be presented and analyzed to demonstrate change, development, stabilization, and anomalies.

The monastic Typika of this period copiously describe the time and setting of celebration, which, like TGC, occurs towards the end of the Eucharistic liturgy on the eve of the feast, usually following the prayer behind the ambo, but prior to the distribution of the antidoron.[43] *Coislin 402*, a thirteenth-century Sabaitic monastic Typikon, moves the blessing of waters to Orthros on the day of the Epiphany feast (January 6), and *Vatican Greek 1877*, a thirteenth-century Studite Typikon, prescribes the same when the Epiphany feast falls on Sunday.[44] *Evergetis Typikon*, an eleventh-century Studite monastic Typikon of a hybrid cathedral and Palestinian monastic provenance, assigns the celebration at Vespers of the Epiphany feast,

---

[42] Khouri-Sarkis and du Boullay also note a fourth, a formulary for the blessing of waters, ibid., p. 225.

[43] See, for example, the instructions in *Sinai 1096*: "After partaking of the holy mysteries the antidoron is not given nor does the psalmist speak…," Dmitrievsky-III, p. 37.

[44] Dmitrievsky-III, p. 123.

after the Gospel, if Epiphany falls on a Saturday or Sunday.[45] These directions for the time of celebration are similar to those of *Grottaferrata Gb X (tenth–eleventh century),* which calls for its celebration after the readings at the paramone, and early in the morning, after Orthros. In terms of the time of celebration, the monastic Typika begin to make adjustments for the timing of the celebration, since the Eucharistic liturgy does not immediately follow Vespers if the feast falls on a Saturday or Sunday. In summary, select monastic Typika created rules to adjust the rite's celebration to account for the intersection of the Epiphany feast from the Menaion with the weekly liturgical cycle. Such adjustments appeared as early as the tenth century in *Grottaferrata Gb X*, and probably represent Studite-Sabaitic monastic influence on the cathedral Euchologia.

The monastic Typika meticulously describe the distribution of candles, and the procession to the location of the water, which varies by monastery.[46] TPA states that the brethren receive candles from the monastery's abbot at the royal doors, whereas *Messina 115*, a twelfth-century Studite monastic Typikon, and *Vatican Greek 1877* assert that the clergy are vested in white, as does *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, a twelfth-century Euchologion representing Constantinopolitan liturgy in a monastic community.[47] Despite variations in the details of what is brought to the celebration, the monastic Typika generally refer to torches, incense, and sometimes wood.[48]

Most of the Euchologia do not mention the location of the liturgical celebration. *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* attributes the authorship of the blessing of waters to St Basil of Caesarea, and also denotes the intonation of "glory to God in the highest," and "for you are our sanctification."[49] As noted above, the ninth- to tenth-century Armenian blessing of waters represented by *San Lazaro 457* also attributes authorship of the rite to St Basil.[50] The limited references indicate only that some

---

[45] Jordan, pp. 420–21. See also *Turin 216,* a twelfth- to thirteenth-century Studite Typikon of Italy (Dmitrievsky-I, p. 795).

[46] *Sinai 1094, Sinai 1096* indicate its celebration at the "φωτιστῆρα," and *Evergetis Typikon* indicates its celebration at the "λουτρῷ." These are probably synonyms for the location of the baptistery.

[47] "The priests and the deacons exit vested in white stoles," in A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur," p. 322, Conybeare, p. 430. Also see Dmitrievsky-I, p. 847.

[48] See *Messina 115*, p. 99. References to "honorable wood" ("τίμιον ξύλον") abound in both the Studite and Sabaitic monastic sources, and it seems to be a synonym for the cross used for plunging into the water at the conclusion of the office. See Arranz's definition in *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis Gr 115 A.D. 1131*, p. 423 : "le bois de la Croix … porté hors du sanctuaire pour l'exaltation et la vénération; porté à la bénédiction de l'eau, qui se fait par son immersion."

[49] "A work of Archbishop Basil according to the governance of the holy fathers of the holy council of Niceae" in A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur," p. 322, Conybeare, p. 430.

[50] In the Armenian Epiphany Rite, Conybeare, p. 166. On the dating and contents of *San Lazaro 457*, see Conybeare, Introduction, ix–xiii. See also G. Munarini, p. 244.

communities acknowledged St Basil as the Epiphany rite's author, which would date the liturgical ordo to the fourth century. There is no extant evidence to support Basil's authorship of the Epiphany blessing of waters. *Sinai 966*, *Sinai 1036*, and *Sinai 973* state that everyone departs for the baptistery after the prayer behind the ambo.[51] *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* mentions the use of torches and incense and prescribes an incensation of the water during the singing of the Troparia.[52]

As in *Sinai 958*, the blessing of waters described by the Euchologia of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries begins with the chanting of the Troparion "Voice of the Lord." Several Euchologia mention this Troparion only, with *Sinai 973* and *Patmos 105* indicating that it was sung three times. *Sinai 1036*, *Patmos 104*, and *Sinai 966* include groupings of multiple Troparia that begin with "Voice of the Lord." This tendency to begin the rite with "Voice of the Lord" or even a multiplicity of Troparia is reflected by the appearance of additional Troparia, constituting a development of the phenomenon which first appeared in *Sinai 958*. *Sinai 966* (thirteenth century) illustrates the most complete development of the growth of hymnody at this point in the rite, with the following structure:[53]

Table 4.5 Troparia in *Sinai 966*

• "Voice of the Lord"
• *Verse: Offer to the Lord, sons of God.*
• The same Troparion ("Voice of the Lord")
• *Verse: Offer to the Lord the glory of his name.*
• The same [Troparion]
• And immediately the stichera:
• "Today the Waters"
• *Verse: The sea.*
• "As Man in the Water"
• *Verse: What ailed you, sea, that you fled, and you, Jordan.*
• "To the Voice"
• Glory now and ever.
• "Thus says the Lord to John"

[51] *Patmos 105* assigns the blessing to occur wherever the bowl or similar container is used to bless the waters ("ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ"), Dmitrievsky-II, p. 166.

[52] "And they are carrying torches and censers and the holy wood. And they go to the pool: and incense it, and all the people" (ibid). *Grottaferrata Gb X* alludes to the distribution of candles at the beginning of the celebration.

[53] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 212.

After the initial Troparion, a verse is intercalated, and the same Troparion is chanted again ("Τὸ αὐτὸ τροπάριον"). The earlier Euchologia of this period only include one Troparion, though there is some flexibility on the number of times it is to be chanted. *Sinai 1036* and *Sinai 966* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the only Euchologia assigning the singing of multiple hymns with verses intercalated in a structure, which illustrates a gradual development of hymnody at the beginning of the rite. Though the order of the Troparion unit differs, they are structured like the unit of *Grottaferrata Gb X* illustrated by Table 3.7 above.

Almost all of the Typika of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition attest to the chanting of "Voice of the Lord" three times, with no additional Troparia prescribed. An alternate source for the *Hypotyposis* of Theodore of Studios prescribes the singing of "When You were Baptized" at the beginning of the rite, with "Voice of the Lord" assuming the position of the concluding hymnody.[54] Tatiana Afanaseva suggests that Migne's version of the *Hypotyposis* likely represents the original Studite order for the blessing of waters, since a Bulgarian book of Paremii (Greg. 2, M 1685) from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries contains the same rubric.[55] This anomaly stands in contradistinction among the collective Studite-Sabaitic witness presented here, but it accords with TGC's positioning of "Voice of the Lord" at the end of the rite, possibly reflecting some permeation of the practice of Hagia Sophia into Studite monastic liturgy.[56] The consistent appearance of "Voice of the Lord" at the beginning of the monastic rite explains its appearance in the Euchologia of Stage One and further development in those of Stage Two. The Troparia are of monastic provenance and were gradually incorporated in the cathedral Euchologia through Stage Two as Byzantine monastic and cathedral liturgies were fused together. The assignment of the Troparion at the beginning of the blessing of waters in *Sinai 958* of Stage One, a Palestinian Euchologion, underscores the Palestinian tendency to commence the rite with "Voice of the Lord."

That Euchologia like *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion* do not prescribe Troparia does not necessarily entail their absence from the celebration of the blessing of waters. Many Euchologia contain only the prayers and rubrics needed by the clergy and omit instructions for hymns and psalms used by chanters. One or more of the festal hymns was probably chanted towards the end of the rite in *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion*, though silence on the matter makes it impossible to identify any specific hymns. Clearly, the chanting of hymns at the beginning of the rite becomes entrenched in the Byzantine blessing of waters of Stage Two.

Stage Two also reveals change in the position and contents of the assigned readings. Inconsistencies in the prescriptions for the readings could reflect some resistance to new impositions upon an existing skeleton. None of the Euchologia assigns readings at the end of the rite, as practiced in TGC, but both *Patmos 105* (thirteenth century) and *Sinai 966* prescribe readings from the prophets only, whereas only *Sinai 1036*

---

54 PG 99, pp.1717–8.

55 Afanaseva, p. 29.

56 References to practices of the Great Church abound in Studite Typika. See Petras, p. 6.

(twelfth–thirteenth centuries) places the prophets, Prokeimenon, and NT readings together. *Sinai 973* (twelfth century) contains a curious anomaly as its Epiphany water blessing assigns the singing of the Trisagion after the synapte, then reading the New Testament only, and proceeding to an ektene distinct from the synapte. *Sinai 973* can be characterized as a repository of different practices converging in one document, truly reflecting the tensions particular to a liturgy in transition.

Generally, most monastic Typika refer to the readings as a singular entity without specificity, though *Evergetis Typikon* mentions three readings,[57] and *Messina 115* refers to the three readings as those of the "prophets."[58] Prescriptions for New Testament readings are absent, with the lone exception of *Sinai 1094* (twelfth- to thirteenth-century Sabaitic), which prescribes a prokeimenon with a baptismal theme, "Lord is my light" ("Κύριε φώτισμα"), the epistle of 1 Corinthians, and the Gospel from Mark.

The readings appear to constitute a classic fusion of cathedral and monastic practices. TGC mentions the prophets alone in Stage One, whereas numerous monastic Typika also refer to three prophetic readings. Euchologia from Stages One and Two are inconsistent in the order and contents of the readings with a variety of combinations. The readings are not finalized by Stage Two, and appear to be in a continual state of development with local practices prevailing, especially in Euchologia.

The Euchologia of this period consistently refer to a synapte and the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ." *Euchologium Sinaiticum* begins with the prayer "The Heavenly Principles," which occurred only in *Sinai 957* in Stage One. Its occurrence here witnesses to the limits of its dissemination in Stage Two. A new development is evident in the Prologue, as "We Glorify You" becomes much more firmly established as the Prologue during this stage of the Euchologion tradition. It is also noteworthy by its absence from several Euchologia, including *Paris Coislin 213*, *Bessarion*, *Sinai 971*, *Patmos 105*, and *Sinai 966*. The Prologue is also largely absent from the monastic Typika. *Paris Coislin 213* clearly states that the celebrant is to intone the "Great are You" prayer immediately after completing the silent prayer of the synapte.[59]

The Prologue seems to disappear from Constantinopolitan liturgy with *Paris Coislin 213* (eleventh century) and *Bessarion* (thirteenth century) in Stage Two. Its absence from monastic Typika is notable. Afanaseva opines that the Prologue, recited by the celebrant, would not necessarily be included in a Typikon, given

---

[57] "And immediately the three readings of the blessing [of the waters] are read while all stand," trans. Jordan, pp. 414–5.

[58] "the prophets are read…" *Messina 115*, Arranz, p. 99.

[59] "And having finished the prayer he says 'Amen' to himself, and immediately begins aloud: 'Great are You…'" (In Arranz, *L'eucologio Costantinopolitano,* p. 201, also see Dmitrievsky-II, p. 999). A similar rubric appears in *Sinai 966*: "He says the 'Amen' to himself, and immediately begins aloud: wisdom. Great are You, Lord, and marvelous are your works" (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 212)

the Typikon's nature.[60] Four of the monastic Typika used in this study (TPA, *Sinai 1094*, *Messina 115*, and *Evergetis Typikon*) mention specific prayers even though Typika do not usually refer to euchological components. This makes it likely that the Prologue was not usually recited in the Studite-Sabaitic monastic blessing of waters. It is possible that some monastic communities recited the Prologue if it was in their Euchologion, as evidenced by the presence of the Prologue in *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* (twelfth century), the Euchologion used by the monastery of our Lord in "Lingua Phari." The absence of the Prologue from the Studite-Sabaitic monastic Epiphany rite could have influenced the Constantinopolitan Euchologia of Stage Two (*Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion*). In conclusion, the Prologue likely originated in cathedral practice, though its exact provenance remains unknown. It was not a part of the Studite-Sabaitic practice, which began to influence Constantinopolitan cathedral liturgy in Stage Two.

Different technical terms are also employed to describe the Prologue, including "Προοίμιον,"[61] and "εὐχή."[62] In Byzantine usage, different terms can occasionally be used interchangeably to describe a particular unit without implying a completely independent function or significance, which could be the case for the Prologue. Based on the collective evidence, including the apparent intentional absence of the Prologue in some Euchologia, and the use of different terms in others, one can conclude that the Prologue had gained some popularity at this stage of liturgical development in terms of settling on a more consistent version, but that it was still evolving and in a state of transition. This is confirmed by the retention of the Prologue "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel" in *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, which appeared first in BAR. The Prologue "We Glorify You" becomes more prominent in Stage Two, but it cannot displace older versions used in some communities. Its absence from several Euchologia and Typika underscores the volatile liturgical development that characterizes Stage Two.

New liturgical developments emerge in the remainder of the blessing of waters after the "Great are You" prayer in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Curiously, *Euchologium Sinaiticum* contains an inexplicable interruption during the "Great are You" prayer for the three readings from the Prophets, perhaps reflecting some resistance to their permanent affixation to the beginning of the rite, yet inability to remain entrenched near its conclusion, as in TGC.[63] Several Euchologia report that the celebrant plunges the cross into the water, a seemingly significant gesture completing the water's sanctification.[64] In each case this is followed by the recitation of a brief text, sometimes resembling a formula, and elsewhere a hymn. Many different texts accompany the plunging of the cross among the Euchologia, probably reflecting the simultaneous incidence of a number

---

60 Afanaseva, pp. 32–4.

61 *Athos Panteleimon 162* (eleventh–twelfth centuries) and *Sinai 973.*

62 *Sinai 1036* and *Patmos 104.*

63 R. Nahtigal (ed.), *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, p. 10.

64 The prevalent verb employed by Euchologia to describe this plunging is "βαπτίζει."

of local traditions. The Troparion "When You were Baptized" gains momentum and becomes generally established as the hymn sung to conclude the blessing of waters in the Euchologia of this period, though a second Troparion, "Today the Trinity," is occasionally sung afterwards.

The remainder of the blessing of waters is very stable in the Studite-Sabaitic monastic Typika, with the diakonika, prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," "Great are You" prayer, and prayer of inclination occurring consecutively. The Typika consistently prescribe the plunging of the cross into the water after the prayer of inclination, with *Sinai 1094* and *Messina 115* alluding to the exclamation "for you are our sanctification," and several other Typika prescribing sprinkling of the water over people, church, and objects. Like the Euchologia, the Byzantine monastic Typika are almost unanimous in assigning the Troparion "When You were Baptized" along with a second ("Today the Trinity") as the concluding hymns, with the Migne version of the *Hypotyposis* of Theodore the Studite prescribing "Voice of the Lord", as in TGC. Several Typika conclude the rite with an ektene, some including a final hymn ("Let Us the Faithful").

The prayer for the second blessing of the waters in the courtyard, "God our God," occurs in some Euchologia, and is absent in others.[65] *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion* mention its location ("Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα[66] εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων λεγομένη ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ τοῦ μεσαύλου"), as it is recited at a location with a bowl in the atrium. All references to Baptism have, however, disappeared from the title of the prayer. *Patmos 104* and *Patmos 105* are the only Euchologia that conclude with an ektene.

In summary, the blessing of waters in the Byzantine rite considerably develops in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, while some liturgical components remain stable. The Byzantine rite of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries can be characterized by the following phenomena: the increased use of the synapte instead of an ektene; the singing of the "Voice of the Lord" at the beginning of the celebration; and the nearly ubiquitous use of "When You were Baptized" at the end. Only *Sinai 973* includes an anamnetic ektene in lieu of a synapte. In Stage Two, the preference for the synapte, which began in Stage One, evidences the influence of the Palestinian monastic liturgy on the Euchologia.

The plunging of the cross into the water while intoning a formula or hymn is a prominent component of Stage Two. Its occurrence in Stage One is limited to *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X*. It becomes permanently entrenched in Stage Two, especially in the Studite-Sabaitic monastic Typika. Its popularity in Stage Two suggests its Palestinian monastic provenance, the beginnings of which were evident in select Euchologia of Stage One. The West Syrian rituals from this period indicate that the presider makes the sign of the cross over the waters. The growing tendency of the plunging of a cross into the waters in the Byzantine rite illustrates the mutually exclusive development of the Byzantine and West Syrian rituals in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.

---

65 Absent in all Patmos documents.

66 *Paris Coislin 213* uses the word "ἄλλη."

Stage Two favors the Prologue "We Glorify You" over "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel," though several Euchologia make no mention of any Prologue. *Euchologium Sinaiticum* constitutes the most salient example of retention of ancient items, with its inclusion of the older Prologue material from BAR and *Sinai 957*.

The Studite-Sabaitic monastic impact at the end of Stage One and throughout Stage Two is evidenced by a number of liturgical instances in specific Euchologia. The assignment of a different time for celebrating the rite in *Grottaferrata Gb X* could be an early attestation to monastic influence on the Euchologion. For example, opening the rite by intoning the exclamation "for you are our sanctification," attested to by *Sinai 1096* and *Messina 115*, also occurs in *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*,[67] while the use of the same exclamation during the plunging of the cross in *Sinai 1094* and *Messina 115* is found in *Patmos 105* and *Codex Athens National Library 670.* This appears to indicate a preference for this exclamation in the Sabaitic monastic Typika *Sinai 1094* and *Sinai 1096*, which also occurs in the Studite monastic Typikon *Messina 115.* The monastic Typika also attest to the intonation of an ektene to conclude the rite, which also occurs in *Patmos 104* and *Patmos 105.* The occurrence of a concluding ektene in *Patmos 104* and *Patmos 105*, their appointment of the threefold singing of "Voice of the Lord" at the beginning of the rite, and the intonation of "for you are our sanctification" during the plunging of the cross in *Patmos 105* suggests that these Euchologia adopted the predominantly Studite-Sabaitic monastic variant of the rite.

The absence of distinctly cathedral prayers from the monastic Typika further demonstrates the monastic influence on the celebration of the blessing of waters. The prayer "God our God," ubiquitous in Stage One and still present in Stage Two, gradually disappears from the Euchologion tradition, while it is completely absent from the monastic Typika. However, *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, the Euchologion of the monastic community of our Lord, includes this prayer. This suggests the possibility that the absence of a specific liturgical component from a Typikon's description does not necessarily entail its omission from the liturgical celebration. The inclusion of "God our God" in *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* could simply provide a snapshot in the historical development of the blessing of waters, where a specific liturgical component is more resilient in the practice of a particular community. In the case of the prayer "God our God," its original function and purpose as a cathedral courtyard prayer was likely lost with the adoption of the monastic paradigm following the Fourth Crusade of AD 1204, rendering its retention in the Euchologia unnecessary. The courtyard prayer probably disappeared under the sway of the new circumstances dictated by an increasingly monastic context. The same

---

[67] This is explained by the fact that *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* is the Euchologion purportedly used by the monastic community of our Lord. The exclamation also occurs in *Sinai 973,* followed by the Trisagion, the prokeimenon and New Testament readings, and ektene (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 89). *Sinai 973* appears to have combined multiple components from the beginning portions of the office in one Euchologion, since this unit could easily comprise the beginning of the office. In *Sinai 973,* the opening Troparia and synapte appear first.

principle holds true for the prayer "Creator of the Waters," which also disappears. The same cannot be said for the Prologue, however, since it consistently recurs throughout the Euchologion tradition. That several Euchologia clearly indicate its exclusion from the celebration suggests that some communities, though not all, omitted it from practice, which could explain its ubiquitous exclusion from monastic Typika. Its appearance in Byzantine Euchologia contemporaneous with the monastic Typika makes its performance possible even in some monastic communities.

Table 4.6 comparatively presents the ordo of the Byzantine blessing of waters from the eighth through thirteenth centuries, with new developments in the second stage highlighted by *italics*, and a reconstruction of the order in the monastic Typika in the far right column:

Table 4.6 Stages One and Two Compared

Stage 1: Eighth–Tenth Centuries	**Stage 2: Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries**	**Byzantine Monastic Rite**
• Troparion • Ektene/Synapte • Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ" • Prologues (vary) • "Great are You" Prayer • Prayer of Inclination • Sprinkling of People • Hymnody (varies) • Three Isaiah Readings • Prayer: "God our God"	• Troparia *("Voice of the Lord" prevails*) • Synapte • *Readings (Variable)* • Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ" • Prologue ("We Glorify You" *prevails*) • "Great are You" Prayer • Prayer of Inclination • *Plunging of cross (with text)*[68] • Sprinkling of People • Hymnody *("When You" prevails*) • Prayer: "God our God" • Ektene	• Troparia *("Voice of the Lord")* • Synapte • *Readings (Variable)* • Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ" • "Great are You" • Prayer of Inclination • *Plunging of cross (with text)* • Sprinkling of People • Hymnody *("When You" prevails*) • *Ektene*

Conclusions

The eleventh to thirteenth centuries reveal expansion, repositioning, and stabilization of select elements of the Byzantine blessing of waters, with the beginning of this process evidenced as early as the tenth century in *Sinai 958*. Under the strong influence of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition, the Byzantine blessing of waters gradually develops into a synthesized celebration, with a core group of prayers surrounded by hymnody, a limited number of assigned biblical readings, and the plunging of the cross into the waters. The influence of the Studite-

[68] Sprinkling is prescribed by *Sinai 973* and *Patmos 105,* while *Sinai 966* refers to the priest and people drinking of the sanctified water.

Sabaitic monastic liturgy is evidenced by the repositioning and entrenchment of Troparia, the use of the synapte, and the proliferation of the plunging of the cross into the waters.

The inclusion of three West Syrian sources in Stage Two helps illuminate the development of the rite of the blessing of waters in both rites. Clearly, at this point in the history of liturgical development, both the West Syrian and Byzantine rites are mutually independent and developing without significant influence from other external liturgical centers. The West Syrian emphasis on Scriptural lessons and its retention of the Johannine Gospel lesson on the Samaritan woman are good examples of regional liturgical independence, along with the presence of prayers particular to West Syria. Three items from the West Syrian rite are particularly notable. First, the "Great are You" prayer remains a core component of this ritual. Second, the sources denote the prayer "Creator of the Waters," which appeared initially in the Stage One of the Byzantine Rite, but begins to disappear as the rite is monasticized. The presence of this prayer for healing in the West Syrian rites demonstrates a tendency in the East to recite several prayers, asking God to bless the waters for specific purposes, which is bodily and spiritual healing in "Creator of the Waters." In general, the Byzantine recension of the rite becomes truncated during the process of monasticization, whereas the West Syrian rite retains a stronger sense of solemnity with the numerous signs of the cross made over the water. It appears that the West Syrian rite has retained an earlier stratum of euchology and solemnity in Stage Two that begins to disappear from the Byzantine rite as the monastic centers direct the order, content, and celebration of Byzantine liturgy. The gradual disappearance of the courtyard prayer, "God our God," and the recitation of the Prologue from the Byzantine rite during this period confirms the Byzantine tendency to abbreviate. Thus, the evidence from the West Syrian rite serves an important purpose in testifying to a regional liturgical tradition of the East, and helping the reader understand the significance of the process of monasticization in the Byzantine blessing of waters on Epiphany.

Chapter 5
History of the Blessing of Waters: Stage 3 (14th–16th Centuries)

Stage Three of the history of the blessing of waters is presented through an examination of select liturgical sources from the fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries listed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Liturgical Sources, 14th–16th Centuries

Name	Date	Book	Provenance
Sinai 971[1]	Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries	Euchologion	
Vatopedi 322	Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries	Typikon	Studite (Monastic)
Bkerké 94[2]	Fourteenth Century	Euchologion	Maronite
Bkerké 98[3]	Fourteenth Century	Euchologion	Maronite
Sinai 983[4]	Fourteenth Century	Euchologion	
Sinai 991[5]	Fourteenth Century	Euchologion	
Codex Athens National Library 663[6]	Fourteenth–Fifteenth Centuries	Euchologion	
Sinai 980[7]	Fifteenth Century	Euchologion	
Holy Sepulchre 8 (182)[8]	Fifteenth Century	Euchologion	
Codex Athens National Library 877[9]	Fifteenth Century	Euchologion	
Sinai 974[10]	Sixteenth Century	Euchologion	
Athos Kostaminotos 60[11]	Sixteenth Century	Euchologion	
Athanasius Athos 21	Sixteenth Century	Euchologion	

[1] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 249–62.

[2] A manuscript of the Maronite patriarchal library, dated to AD 1411, but representing much older liturgical materials, described by J.-M. Sauget, "Bénédiction de l'eau dans la nuit de l'Épiphanie selon l'ancienne tradition de l'Église maronite," in *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959), pp. 323–4.

[3] Another manuscript of the Maronite patriarchal library, dating to AD 1354, but representing later liturgical practices than *Bkerké 94*, described briefly by Sauget, pp. 323–4.

[4] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 327–8.

[5] Ibid., pp. 328–33.

[6] P.N. Trempelas Μικρόν Εὐχολόγιον,τόμος Β΄. Ἀκολουθίαι καὶ τάξεις ἁγιασμοῦ ὑδάτων, ἐγκαινίων, ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπερινοῦ (Athens, 1950), pp. 9–10.

[7] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 422–35.

[8] Ibid., pp. 453–85.

[9] See n. 15 above.

[10] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 668–705.

[11] Ibid., pp. 849–56.

The Maronite Rite

Stage Three begins by briefly reviewing the blessing of waters according to Maronite sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. J.-M. Sauget provided a comprehensive description of the Epiphany blessing of waters in the Maronite tradition based on testimony from two liturgical documents of this stage in the Maronite patriarchal library: *Bkerké 94*, a manuscript dating to AD 1411, and *Bkerké 98*, dating to AD 1354, which Sauget claims represents much older liturgical material. Sauget's translation of the Syriac liturgy is based primarily on *Vaticanus 312*, written in Rome in AD 1745, and representing the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Maronite Epiphany liturgies.[12] One cannot draw broad conclusions on Sauget's translation because it is an amalgamation of liturgical practices spanning nearly five hundred years, but his identification of older liturgical elements contributes to our knowledge of the blessing of waters in the Maronite tradition.

The structure of Sauget's reconstructed liturgy bears scant resemblance to the West Syrian examples of Stage Two, but the liturgy contains several noteworthy components. The celebration begins with diaconal litanic biddings and several hymns chanted while the assembly processes to a natural source of water.[13] Several hymns (*qôlo*) are chanted, and the deacon proclaims a *qôlo* upon arrival at the source of water reflecting on the dialogue between Jesus and the Samaritan woman in the Johannine Gospel account (John 4:5–12).[14] After the singing of additional hymns, the following readings are assigned: 1 Thessalonians 3:6–13, psalmody (77.16), and John 4:4–42.[15] The Johannine account of the Samaritan woman again holds the place of privilege in the rite of the blessing of waters. Following the Gospel, the deacon proclaims a short series of poetic "todays", the celebrant blesses the water by taking three lighted portions of charcoal from the censer and throwing them into the water, saying "In the name of the Father: let them be purified! In the name of the Son: let them be undefiled! In the name of the Holy Spirit: let them be blessed!"[16] The celebrant then blesses the water from the source by plunging the cross into it and filling the vase, and then the assembly returns to the church.[17] Upon returning to the church, the celebrant sprinkles the people with the blessed water while reciting the *hûtômo* (a concluding prayer).[18]

---

12 Sauget, pp. 323–4.

13 Ibid., pp. 334–5.

14 Ibid., p. 335.

15 Ibid., p. 336.

16 Ibid., p. 337.

17 Ibid.

18 At this point in the translated office, a second rite for the blessing of waters commences inside the Church. The rite is quite lengthy and expresses an eloquent theology, notable in particular for its 32 Old Testament lessons, followed by Acts 8:26–39, 1 Corinthians 10:1–12, and Matthew 3:1–17. A detailed analysis of this second blessing

The Maronite rite of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries contains aspects of the West Syrian rite prominent in Stages One and Two. The rite is celebrated at a natural source of waters outdoors and the Johannine Gospel of the Samaritan woman are prominent theological components recurring in this rite of Stage Three. A significant new development is the gesture used for the blessing of waters. The celebrant's casting flaming charcoals from the censer into the water evokes the use of incense in the West Syrian rite of Stages One and Two, and also accentuates the notion of fire meeting water. The reference to the plunging of the cross into the water as the celebrant fills the container and then sprinkling the people with the water is a significant development, since these are the first instances of these blessing gestures outside of the Byzantine rite. A brief series of poetic "todays" proclaimed by the deacon is similar to the "todays" of the Byzantine and Armenian rites. The prayers used for the blessing of waters are particular to the Maronite rite, and there is no reference to the "Great are You" prayer.

The Coptic Rite

The rite for the blessing of waters celebrated by the Coptic Church has been presented in two English translations, first by Budge in 1905, based on an eighteenth-century Euchologion published in Cairo, and then by O.H.E. Burmester in 1967.[19] Burmester notes the variants between his contemporary euchological source and Coptic liturgical manuscripts dating to the fourteenth century, which generally situate the Coptic blessing of waters in Stage Three of our study.

The Copts celebrate their rite on the eve of the Epiphany feast, over a basin in the middle of the church's nave.[20] After an opening intonation, the liturgy commences with seven Old Testament readings: Habbakuk 3:2–19, Isaiah 35:2, Isaiah 40:1–5, Isaiah 9:1–2, Baruch 3:36–4:4, Ezekiel 36: 25–29, Ezekiel 47:1–9. The New Testament readings begin with 1 Corinthians 10:1-13, the Trisagion, Psalm 113:3,5 with Alleluia, and Matthew 3:1-17. The celebrant lifts up a cross of lighted tapers and begins a series of prayers to which the people respond, "Kyrie,

---

of waters is outside the scope of this study, especially since Sauget makes very little distinction between older and newer liturgical materials. Sauget remarks that the second office is an adaptation designed to replace the first, and not a special blessing of waters for the celebration of baptisms. The antiquity of the first office analyzed here is evidenced by the sprinkling of the people, which is absent from the second office. For Sauget's complete argument, see ibid., pp. 325–30.

[19] Budge, pp. 102–37. O.H.E Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of her Sacraments*, Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte (Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1967), pp. 250–56.

[20] The description of the Coptic rite generally follows Burmester, pp. 250–56.

eleison," with the final response recited one hundred times.[21] After the deacon commands "offer," the people respond with "A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise." The celebrant continues with a typical opening for a Eucharistic prayer, in dialogue with the people, singing the water with the cross at each petition for a total of three times. The people then sing "it is meet and right," and the celebrant begins the "Great are You" prayer.[22] He blesses the water with the cross three times during the thrice-holy of "Great are You," with the people singing "holy, holy, holy," and repeats the blessing three times at "sanctify this water; give to it the grace of Jordan," with the people responding, "Amen. Amen. Amen." The next portion of the text begins with the following phrase: "Thou, also now, our Master, Lover of man, our Lord Jesus Christ, come, also now, through the descent of Thy Holy Spirit upon them," followed by the signing of the water with the cross three times and the people saying, "Amen." The celebrant blesses the water with the cross and the people respond with "Amen" at the end of each clause of this section, for a total of ten blessings and "Amens."[23] The people partake of the water following the conclusion of the prayer.

The Coptic rite illumines our understanding of the blessing of waters in three notable areas. First, the rubrics of the rite stipulate several repetitive occurrences of blessing the water with a cross including lighted tapers, revealing a liturgical celebration of continuous epiclesis. Second, the high point of the celebration clearly occurs within the context of a traditional Eucharistic prayer, given the pre-anaphoral dialogue between the people and celebrant, and especially because of the recitation of the "Great are You" prayer within the structure of an anaphora. The people's recurring responses of "Amen" punctuate the epicletic moments of the celebration. Third, the Coptic version of "Great are You" is distinctly Christological, addressing Christ himself to come and sanctify the waters in several instances. The centrality of "Great are You" and the gesture of blessing the waters with a cross reveals a convergence between the Coptic and Byzantine rites, though the Coptic is much more overtly Christological. Thus, the Coptic blessing of waters provides important testimony on the history of the blessing of waters in Stage Three, especially with the common elements it shares with the Byzantine and West Syrian traditions.

---

[21] Budge's translation assigns the petitions to a deacon, and has no reference to a cross with lighted tapers (Budge, p. 123).

[22] Budge's text contains only the deacon's command to offer and the celebrant's intonation of "the love of God," though the Greek text appears to indicate an abbreviation, which possibly assumes a customary anaphora-like dialogue. Budge seems to accept a pre-anaphoral dialogue with his inclusion of "etc." (see Budge, p. 126).

[23] Burmester's text includes rubrics for the celebrant raising the cross and exclaiming, "Holy Things to the holy," but he warns on p. 255, n. 4 that the fourteenth-century Coptic manuscripts 311 and 359 omit these sections, so I have not included them in the above description.

The Byzantine Rite

Byzantine liturgical sources of Stage Three produce an abundance of original liturgical material, especially at the end of the Epiphany blessing of waters. *Sinai 991* (fourteenth century) and *Sinai 974* (sixteenth century) are particularly marked by independent and lengthy items, producing the following verses recited after the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ": "Glory to God in the highest," "Lord, open my lips," and "let my mouth be filled."[24] Both Euchologia contain an original Prologue referring to God as "the Lord God of our fathers who blesses and sanctifies all things" ("ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἁγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα"), which is repeated as a closing prayer in both *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974*. Notably, most of the Euchologia here retain "We Glorify You" as part of a conflated Prologue, one component among many.

Sinai 974 appears to be a repository of several variant pieces of prefatory material, including the prayer "The Heavenly Principles" which is literally sandwiched within its unique conflation of liturgical texts. The Trinitarian apology prayer "Uncreated Trinity" appears here for the first time since BAR, where it functioned as the first Prologue. Its position here occurs after the poetic "todays," immediately prior to the "Great are You" prayer. The occurrence of "The Heavenly Principles" so late in the Euchologion manuscript tradition, positioned before "Uncreated Trinity" and alongside several other prayers, confirms *Sinai 974* as a repository for variant prayers scattered throughout the three stages of the history of the blessing of waters.

In *Sinai 991*, an ektene containing several anamnetic petitions appears after the reading of the Gospel.[25] Similarly, *Sinai 974* also contains an ektene positioned after the Gospel, containing many of the same anamnetic petitions. There is no indication that these ektene were supposed to replace the customary synapte. The synapte of the sixteenth-century rite of *Athos Kostamonitos 60* includes eight anamnetic petitions, although these are unrelated to those of *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974.* Several petitions from the ektene of *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974* are also present in *Grottaferrata Gb X* from Stage One.

Most of the sources mention the plunging of the cross into the water, with the exception of *Athos Kostamonitos 60*, which describes a three-fold tracing of the water with the cross.[26] Diversity characterizes the textual units accompanying the epicletic gesture of blessing the water, with *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974* proclaiming an

---

[24] *Sinai 991* states that each verse is recited three times.

[25] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 330. Dmitrievsky does not provide the order for the beginning of the office, simply stating "the beginning of the office as usual. An ektene after the Gospel" ("начало чина обычное. После евангеліе ектенья"). Nor does he provide all of the ektene's petitions, mentioning only that there are 28 additional petitions.

[26] "He traces the water with the cross three times" in Dmitrievsky-II, p. 850. "σταυροειδῶς" is the term used to describe crosswise movement (see *Messina 115* and *Sinai 1096*), hence the interpretation of the tracing with the cross in *Athos Kostamonitos 60.*

Alleluia responsorial unit with intercalated psalm verses, and baptismal Troparia (Table 5.2):

Table 5.2 Alleluia, Troparion in *Sinai 991, Sinai 974*

- Alleluia.
- *Verse: The waters saw you, O God, the waters saw you and were afraid.*
- *Glory now and ever…*
- The rivers of the waters were sanctified, the bright one of Christ, the one baptized of Christ in glory today in the Jordan.
- *Verse: The voice of the Lord upon the waters, the God of glory thundered, the Lord upon many waters.*
- *Glory now and ever…*
- Great is the cross that shined in the pool: slaves of sin are going down and coming up children of incorruption, receiving a second light and having been clothed in Christ, the pearl.[27]

Notably, like *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974*, *Athos Kostamonitos 60* also contains the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" at the end of the blessing of waters. The sixteenth-century *Athanasius Athos 21* offers very little information on the blessing of waters except for a short text referring to each person of the Trinity as "light." The singing of "When You were Baptized" constitutes the only consistently retained component from the previous stages.[28] *Sinai 983* (fourteenth century) provides the lone witness to "God our God," the second prayer for the water that was recited in the courtyard in previous Euchologia. The conclusion of *Athos Kostamonitos 60* calls for a Troparion and an ektene.

Pseudo-Kodinos, Treatise on the Offices

Fourteenth-century testimony on the functions of imperial offices attributed to George Kodinos provides information on the Constantinopolitan blessing of the waters at the imperial palace:

> The feast of the divine Theophany is celebrated exactly as the one of Christ's Birth. The blessing of the waters is performed by the ecumenical patriarch after the liturgy, if he is found there, otherwise, by one of the other patriarchs, the one of Alexandria of Antioch, the one of Jerusalem, if he is present. If by chance

[27] Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 330–31, 682–3.

[28] *Athos Kostamonitos 60* prescribes the sprinkling of the nave, the icons, and the people here.

> none of those are present, the protopresbyter of the palace celebrates the blessing of the waters. The patriarch gives a torch to the emperor, the aforementioned servants give (them) to the dignitaries and to all of the archons who are inside the hall of the reception and to those who are in the courtyard, in like manner to the podestat and those who are with him.[29]

This brief and informative report confirms that the blessing of waters was celebrated after the Eucharistic liturgy. The author mentions that Theophany's celebration is patterned after that of Christmas, and then states that the Constantinopolitan patriarch is the celebrant, or one of the other patriarchs.[30] If none of the patriarchs are available, liturgical presidency is assigned to the protopresbyter of the palace. The gathering of officials in the palace indicates its celebration there, though none of the sources state that the celebration at Hagia Sophia is omitted. The assumed presence of other patriarchs characterizes the occasion as solemn, worthy of assembling the ruling primates of sister Orthodox Churches.

Pseudo-Kodinos's report of the Constantinopolitan blessing of waters provides one important link to the rite in Stage One. *Sinai 957* contained a rubric referring to the patriarch's celebration of the rite at the imperial palace, prescribing a commemoration of the emperor at the end of the "Great are You" prayer.[31] Pseudo-Kodinos's testimony offers no additional evidence on the structure of the blessing of waters. In summary, the Byzantine blessing of waters evidences some liturgical development in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Some liturgical components from Stage One reappear in Stage Three, such as the Trinitarian apology "Uncreated Trinity," though it is not in its original position. The Prologue "The Heavenly Principles" occurs in *Sinai 974* fused with several other components. The hymn "When You were Baptized" and the plunging of the cross into the water remain consistent with the previous stages, though the texts accompanying the plunging of the cross continue to vary. The Byzantine blessing of waters in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries reveals a pattern of liturgy in a state of transition, with competing components converging, and existing alongside one another.

The most significant liturgical development is in the chanting of Alleluia and the Troparion, "Great is the Cross that Shined," which accompanies the plunging of the cross into the waters. "Great is the Cross that Shined" occurred in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* from Stage One, but is altogether absent from Stage Two. *Grottaferrata Gb X* also contains the Prologue "Glory to you, Christ," which occurs again in *Sinai 974*. Petitions from the ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb X*, absent from Stage Two, occur again in *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974* of Stage Three. Thus, one can conclude that *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* inherited unique components from Stage One that were absent from Stage Two. Their similarities with *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata*

---

29 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, p. 220.

30 Ibid.

31 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 8.

Gb X suggest that they may be their descendants. However, *Sinai 974* and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* have other components that are not present in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X*. Clearly, the editors of *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* encountered and incorporated these liturgical components from Stage One. Most likely, this occurrence represents an instance of Robert Taft's "law of the paradox of the periphery," wherein local churches far from the home center resist liturgical changes and retain older liturgical usages.[32] In the case of the blessing of waters, *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* retained practices from Stage One that had disappeared from Stage Two. Additional research on the provenance of these three Euchologia will help clarify this issue.

Historical Conclusions

To provide a framework for drawing conclusions on the evidence from Byzantine liturgical sources, Table 5.3 comparatively illustrates the structure of the Byzantine blessing of waters through the three historical stages defined here:

Table 5.3 Stages 1–2–3 Compared

Stage 1: Eighth–Tenth Centuries	**Stage 2: Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries**	**Stage 3: Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries**
Departure to water/ *Celebration in sanctuary (TGC)*	Departure to water	[Beginning largely unknown]
		Psalm verses
Troparion: "Voice of the Lord"/Troparia	Troparion/Troparia[33]	
Prokeimenon/Readings	Prokeimenon/readings	
Ektene/Synapte	Synapte	Ektene/synapte
Prayer "Lord, Jesus Christ," quietly	Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ"	Prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ"
Prologue 1 "Uncreated Trinity"	Prologue: "We Glorify You"	Prologue (various, including "We Glorify You")
Prologue 2 (various).		
Poetic "todays"	Poetic "todays"	Poetic "todays"
		Prologue: "Uncreated Trinity"

[32] See law no. 18 in Robert Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," in R.F. Taft, S.J. and G. Winkler (eds), *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, Rome, 25–29 September 1998, OCA 265 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 2001), pp. 214–15.

[33] "Voice of the Lord" is always included.

"Great are You" prayer	"Great are You" prayer	"Great are You" prayer
Prayer of Inclination	Prayer of Inclination	Prayer of Inclination
Prayer "God, our God"[34]		
Sprinkling of people	Sprinkling of people	
	Plunging of cross	Plunging of cross
		Variable hymnody, "Great is the Cross that Shined" (accompanying plunging of cross)
Hymnody : "Voice of the Lord" (TGC) "When You were Baptized," and "The Hand of the Baptizer Trembled" (Sinai 958)	Hymnody: "When You were Baptized"	Hymnody: "When You were Baptized"
	Prayer: "God our God"	
Return to Church, dismissal		
Readings from Prophets		
Prayer for healing, "Creator of the Waters"		
Prokeimenon/NT Readings (Sinai 958)		
	Ektene	Closing Prayer (Variable)

A summary of the history of the Byzantine blessing of waters on Epiphany can be elucidated based upon two prevailing trends: stability in constituent components, such as the "Great are You" prayer, and variability and development in components like the Prologue and conclusion of the rite.

The vast majority of the Euchologia presume a celebration led by a presbyter. Along with TGC, *Sinai 957* provides evidence for a patriarchal celebration, including the possibility of a parallel or additional sanctification of the waters at the imperial palace. The Euchologia are largely silent on the issue of authorship. Only *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* mentions an author in the title, attributing authorship to St Basil of Caesarea, which would date it to the fourth century. The ninth- to tenth-century Armenian *San Lazaro 457* also attributes authorship to St Basil. A handful of select Euchologia attribute the Prologue or the "Lord Jesus Christ" prayer to St Germanos of Constantinople, but there is no concrete evidence that can confirm these claims. There is no consistency in attributing authorship of the rite or various components in the three historical stages. The liturgy of the blessing of waters is most likely a collection of materials created by anonymous authors and collated into a cohesive whole, which is strongly supported by the stark differentiation in each stage of its historical development.

[34] This can also be in the final position.

Byzantine Liturgical Development: Stage One to Stage Two

The celebration of the blessing of waters exhibits the following developments from Stage One (eighth through tenth centuries) to Stage Two (eleventh through thirteenth centuries): the establishment of Troparia beginning the rite; the supplanting of the ektene with a synapte; the disappearance of the Trinitarian apology prayer "Uncreated Trinity" and the more prevalent use of the Prologue, "We Glorify You" in select Euchologia; consistent reference to the plunging of the cross into the water after the prayer of inclination; the firm establishment of "When You were Baptized" as the chief concluding hymn; the disappearance of the prayer over the water for healing as a part of the rite; and, decreasing reference to the prayer "God our God." The eighth through tenth centuries can be characterized as a period of liturgy in transition.

The liturgical sources demonstrate the strong influence of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition on the development of the blessing of waters in Stage Two, especially in the consistent appointment of Troparia beginning the celebration, the use of a synapte instead of an ektene, the use of "for you are the sanctification" at the beginning and during the plunging of the cross, the plunging of the cross into the waters, and the intonation of an ektene concluding the rite. Rather than an overhaul, the change in the position of the Troparia reflects euchological "fine-tuning."[35]

Stage One also includes the first references to New Testament readings, which continue in Stage Two, but never become permanently established. Several examples of allusions to readings of the Prophets abound in both the Euchologia and Typika. Among Studite-Sabaitic Typika, *Sinai 1094* alone attests to a series of New Testament lections, without referring to the reading of the prophets. The interpolation of New Testament readings into the cursus of prophetic readings has led some to suggest that this is a consequence of the importation of Sabaitic tradition into Byzantium, a tacit assertion of their Sabaitic provenance.[36] Resistance to the permanent affixation of New Testament readings in the Euchologia and Typika of all three stages renders this assumption fatuous. The fact that several Studite Typika exclude the New Testament readings raises additional doubt on this idea. The change in position of the readings, from the end of the rite in TGC towards the beginning in the later stages could evidence the Studite-Sabaitic monastic influence, which exhibits a consistent preference for the readings at the beginning of the rite. Anomalies in the position of the readings in Euchologia occur well into Stage Two, which is best exemplified by the positioning of the three Old Testament readings in the midst of the "Great are You" prayer in *Euchologium Sinaiticum*.[37]

In summary, multiple liturgical traditions converge in the Byzantine blessing of waters of Stages One and Two. The ektene/synapte, the varying Prologues, and the variety of hymns and positions for readings represent distinct liturgical

---

35 Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, pp. 55–6.

36 Afanaseva, pp. 30–31.

37 Also see the position of the readings in *Sinai 973* for another example.

traditions. There is not enough evidence to identify the most prominent liturgical components with a specific liturgical center, namely the Constantinopolitan and Palestinian traditions. The anamnetic ektene occurs in hybrid Euchologia. The monastic Typika do not include a Prologue, and several variants occur in the Euchologia. Pure sources from both traditions anterior to the eighth century might prove instructive, so one can only conclude that the history of the blessing of waters in Stages One and Two represents the convergence of several unique traditions, some of which may have originated in particular liturgical centers. The presence of several unique and rich liturgical components shows that there was no single, universal celebration of the Byzantine blessing of waters in Stage One. Conversely, communities shared the same basic prayers of the rite and surrounded them with locally preferred litanies, hymns, Prologues, and actions. The proliferation of different liturgical units in this period characterizes the celebration of the Byzantine blessing of waters as fluid, depending on the ordo of the local church community.

Byzantine Liturgical Development: Stage Two to Stage Three

Evaluating the progression from Stage Two (eleventh through thirteenth centuries) through Stage Three (fourteenth through sixteenth centuries) proves more difficult, due to limited information on the beginning portion of the order for the liturgy. The chief developments in Stage Three consist of the following: the interpolation of select psalm verses prior to the prayers; a return to more variation in the Prologue, though "We Glorify You" retains a prominent position within a larger framework; the return of the Prologue "Uncreated Trinity," usually in a different position, following the poetic "todays"; more variable hymnody accompanying the plunging of the cross, strikingly akin to *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* from Stage One; and, a continued decrease in the use of the prayer "God our God." The Euchologia of Stage Three mostly omit references to the sprinkling of the people. The reappearance of salient liturgical components from Stage One in Stage Three appears to be an instance of Taft's "law of the paradox of the periphery," as local churches retain older liturgical usages that have otherwise disappeared.

Collectively, the three stages constitute a snapshot into the life of a liturgical rite that continues to develop. The Byzantine blessing of waters has multiple variants particular to local communities in Stage One, and even though certain elements become prevalent in most Euchologia by Stage Two, the ritual is not settled by Stage Three, but appears to represent a continued attempt to sort out the order for the celebration. The only certain conclusion is that the core prayers of the rite are stable, while accompanying components like hymnody, gestures and their accompanying texts, and secondary prayers tend to vary from one source to the next.

Taft's notion of the application of fine-tuning as opposed to a complete overhaul of liturgy, reflected in changes occurring in the Euchologia from monastic influence, characterizes the history of the blessing of waters. A comparison of the development of the cathedral and monastic orders for the liturgy illustrates

continuing change, movement, and variety in the Euchologia, with general stability (especially in structure) in the Typika. While the Euchologia were influenced by specific trends from the Studite-Sabaitic model, the preponderance of variety throughout the Euchologion tradition with particular liturgical components remaining stable throughout confirms the hypothesis of a liturgy that is constantly evolving. Changes are explained by local Euchologia retaining preferences for particular elements, evidenced primarily by variety in the contents of the Prologues and the gestures and texts used during the plunging of the cross into the water. Thus, Baumstark's law of "organic development" applies, at least in part, to the historical development of the celebration of the sanctification of the waters on Epiphany from the eighth through fifteenth centuries, since new items appear and displace old items (the synapte replaces the ektene, new versions of the Prologue replace older versions), although these older items illustrate a certain degree of resilience, and thus sporadically occur later in the tradition.[38] Baumstark's law of organic development is accompanied by Taft's law of the paradox of the periphery since the rite's historical development is not linear, but grows rather sporadically and occurs in complex groups, as illustrated by the retention of older material in *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, and the unique relationship between the latter portions of the offices of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X*, and *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974*, not to mention the inexplicable anomalies that occur throughout. In many cases, the diversity of liturgical units within the rite, especially in non-euchological components, continues to shape liturgical development from Stages Two to Three. This is significant because other related rites of the Byzantine liturgy became more settled by the fourteenth century with the hegemony of the neo-Sabaitic synthesis on Mount Athos and Constantinople.[39]

Table 5.4 loosely represents the Byzantine blessing of waters in both the cathedral and monastic traditions from the eighth through fifteenth centuries, with anomalies excluded, and variable components italicized:

Table 5.4 Blessing of Waters, Eighth to Sixteenth Centuries

Time of Celebration: January 5, after Opisthambanos Prayer of Vesperal Liturgy:
• Procession to location of celebration, with torches, cross, and incense
• *Troparia*
• *Readings*
• Ektene/synapte
• "Lord Jesus Christ" Prayer
• *Prologue 1 ("Uncreated Trinity")*
• *Prologue 2*

[38] Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 3rd ed., rev. Bernard Botte, trans. F.L. Cross (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1958), p. 23.

[39] Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, pp. 78–83.

- Poetic "todays"
- "Great are You" Prayer
- Prayer of Inclination
- Plunging of cross
- *Text accompanying plunging of cross*
- Hymn: "When You were Baptized"
- Sprinkling of people
- *Additional Hymns*
- *"God our God" Prayer*
- *Ektene*

From this outline, an organic skeleton of the celebration of the blessing of waters can be identified, which consists of classic euchology, all of the prayers of the liturgy. The "God our God" prayer was probably a casualty of historical development, no longer necessary for the later, monastic-influenced liturgy. The variable parts consist of hymns and prayers that belong, at least partially, to the genre of hymns, like the poetic Prologue, components that prominently define and elaborate the meaning of the festal celebration. These tend to be the components that reflect the most diversity, which suggests that the core euchological skeleton remained consistent throughout this historical period, while the creative components containing the elaboration were selected according to preference or perhaps edict in local usage.

Thus, the history of the Byzantine blessing of waters exhibits both stability and change in its development, with no resolution evident at the end of the fifteenth century. Its heritage is one of rich diversity represented by unique liturgical components used by local communities, a phenomenon prevailing in Stage One and persisting into Stage Three, despite the influence of the Studite-Sabaitic tradition on the history of the rite.

General Conclusions

The blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical tradition exhibits remarkable diversity and rich theology among the various communities celebrating the rite. The detailed analysis of the Byzantine rite presented above shows that there was never one, universal ordo among Byzantine communities, though the emerging monastic hegemony of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries tended to exercise considerable influence on its ritual shape and order. I have also presented a modest sampling of the blessing of waters from the West Syrian, Armenian, Maronite, and Coptic liturgical traditions. Subsequent chapters of this book will analyze select theological issues evidenced by the rite's historical development

in the East. The liturgical history of the blessing of waters allows us to offer the following general conclusions on its celebration and development in the East:

1. The rubrics describing the blessing of waters in all of the rites clearly envision a solemn occasion. The West Syrian and Coptic rites share strong similarities with the shape and structure of a Eucharistic prayer, and the ritual action of water blessing augments the notion of divine presence in the waters.
2. The earliest liturgical sources common to the West Syrian, Armenian, and Byzantine sources date from the eighth and ninth centuries. The only elements common to these three liturgical traditions in Stage One are the recitation of the "Great are You" prayer at a prominent position in the ritual and the performance of a gesture blessing the waters. The Byzantine and Armenian rites share several similarities in ritual components, and the West Syrian rite includes the "Creator of the Waters" prayer for healing that appears in Stages One and Two of the Byzantine rite. Otherwise, the West Syrian rite can be described as uniquely independent by Stage One. The similarity between the Byzantine and Armenian rites for the blessing of waters in Stage One is notable. Currently, even though there is insufficient euchological evidence to hypothesize the possibility of a byzantinization of the Armenian blessing of waters, the similarities of the rites warrants further dedicated research. The three rites occasionally use the same sources, but a lack of euchological evidence anterior to the eighth century prohibits an attempt to reconstruct a hypothetical common parent for the blessing of waters.
3. With the exception of the Maronite rite, the "Great are You" prayer occupies a position of prominence in all the rites. Its occurrence and prominence in the West Syrian, Byzantine, Armenian, and Coptic rites suggests its antiquity.
4. The euchology of each rite is distinctly Christological, although the rites express this Christology in different ways. For example, the prevalence of the Johannine account of the Samaritan woman in the West Syrian rites shows Christ to be the source of the sanctified waters, though this theological motif is particular to the West Syrian and Maronite rites. The Byzantine plunging of the cross into the waters also suggests a Christological emphasis, shared by the Armenian and Maronite blessing gestures. The West Syrian, Maronite, and Coptic rites tend to repeat the gesture of blessing several times, which is consistent with ritual blessings within their respective liturgical traditions. The differences in ritual performance are notable, as the Armenians poured myrrh into the water while the Maronites added flaming charcoal, but the central idea of a gesture recalling Jesus' entrance into the water stands out in comparing the gestures of water blessing.

In summary, this examination of the history of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the East exposes considerable liturgical diversity from the eighth through sixteenth centuries, both among Eastern liturgical traditions, and within

them. The liturgical traditions share an understanding of the event as one of great solemnity reserved for an annual commemoration in the liturgical year. The solemnity of the blessing of waters reveals a rich theology rooted in a liturgical anamnesis of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, a theology the next chapters will explore in detail.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 6
The Origins of the "Great are You" Prayer[1]

The history of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical tradition reveals the prominence of the "Great are You" prayer in the West Syrian, Armenian, Byzantine, and Coptic rites. In each rite, the context of the recitation of "Great are You" heightens its solemnity, especially in the West Syrian and Coptic rites, where it most closely resembles a classic Eucharistic prayer. Because the "Great are You" prayer contains the most text and includes components frequently found in Eucharistic prayers, it constitutes the central component of the blessing of waters. Furthermore, a variant of the "Great are You" prayer, strikingly similar to the one of the blessing of waters, is recited in the Byzantine and West Syrian rites of Baptism.

In this chapter, I present the prayer's history and scholarly hypotheses on its origin and provenance, and will examine its liturgical and theological purpose in the context of the blessing of waters. This section begins with an introductory analysis of the entire prayer for the purpose of addressing the question of its origin. Appendix D presents the prayer's Greek text from BAR and an English translation.

History: Versions of "Great are You" in Epiphany and Baptism

The "Great are You" prayer occurs in all of the Eastern rites that celebrate the blessing of waters on Epiphany, with the exception of the Maronite. The "Great are You" prayer was used for the blessing of waters on Epiphany as early as the eighth century in the Byzantine and West Syrian rites, as it occurs in BAR (eighth century) and *B.M. Add. 14.494* (eighth–ninth centuries). An earlier date for the prayer's employment in the West Syrian tradition is plausible, based on a direct quote by an anonymous homilist of the incipit "Great are You, Lord" from Syrian Antioch of the late-fifth to early-sixth centuries.[2] Alain Desreumaux aligns the theology of the homilies with the liturgical celebrations of the Epiphany feast, allowing for the possibility that the homily's author was referring to the prayer in quoting its incipit.[3]

The Byzantine rite of Baptism also employs the "Great are You" prayer for the blessing of the waters of the baptismal font. Its earliest occurrence at Baptism in an

---

[1] This chapter includes and updates material previously published in Nicholas Denysenko, "Baptismal Themes in the Byzantine Blessing of Waters on Theophany," *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 52 (2011) pp 55–88.

[2] See *Trois homélies syriaques anonymes et inédites sur l'Épiphanie*, trans. and intro. Alain Desreumaux, Patrologia Orientalis 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), p. 701.

[3] Ibid., pp. 662–3.

extant document is BAR.[4] Historians of Baptism in the Byzantine rite have compared the two prayers and attempted to illustrate a relationship of dependence. Hubert Scheidt analyzed the rites of the blessing of baptismal waters in the Greek, Syrian, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopian traditions, and included the Greek Epiphany water blessing.[5] Scheidt asserts that the Syrian blessing of waters on Epiphany in *B.M. Add. 14.495* (tenth–eleventh centuries) represents the most authentic original version of the prayer.[6] This West Syrian version of the "Great are You" prayer is identical to the Byzantine version, except for the absence of a concluding intercession and doxology. A contemporaneous version of the "Great are You" prayer is found in the Armenian blessing of waters on Epiphany in *San Lazaro 457*, the ninth- to tenth-century Armenian Euchologion.[7] This Armenian version is similar to the Byzantine, but it does not contain concluding intercessions and has slightly different epicletic texts.

In his comparative analysis, Scheidt focuses on key phrases, stating that "ποίησον … νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον" has nothing to do with Baptism, and that "τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως" does not occur in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic translations of the prayer for the Epiphany blessing of waters.[8] Scheidt is referring to the following epicletic phrases, parallel to the "epiclesis blessings" (D-2), which are in the baptismal water blessing (Scheidt's phrases in bold):

> Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water. And grant it the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a spring of incorruption, a gift of sanctification, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength … Let all of those that conspire against your creature flee from it …
>
> Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν **χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως**, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· **ποίησον αὐτὸ ἀφθαρσίας πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον**, δαίμοσιν ὀλέθριον, ταῖς ἐναντίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον, ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον … Φυγέτωσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῷ πλάσματι σου …[9]

The Epiphany version of D-2 is almost identical to its baptismal parallel.

---

[4] BAR no. 122.

[5] Hubert Scheidt, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete im sinne Vergleichender Liturgie-Forschung Untersucht*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 29 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1935), pp. 12–19.

[6] Scheidt provides Budge's entire translation of the text in a table in Scheidt, pp. 13–31.

[7] For an English translation of the text, see Conybeare, pp. 175–7.

[8] Ibid., p. 32.

[9] BAR no. 122.2. See Appendix D for a comparison of the baptismal and Epiphany versions of D-2.

"Φυγέτωσαν" marks the beginning of the exorcism in Baptism, while Epiphany's D-2 describes the way participants will use the water ("ἵνα πάντες οἱ ἀρυόμενοι καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ …").

Scheidt does not attempt to reconstruct an original text of the Epiphany version of the "Great are You" prayer. He asserted that the prayer used for baptismal waters originated from the prayer of the Epiphany blessing, resulting in an amalgamation that occurred after the first Council of Constantinople in AD 381.[10] Following his discovery of the Greek text of an alternate prayer for the blessing of baptismal waters, "O Lord God Almighty," Hieronymus Engberding contended that the Epiphany blessing depends on the baptismal text, thus refuting Scheidt's assertion.[11] Miguel Arranz opines that this alternate prayer for the blessing of baptismal waters was probably used whenever the candidate was in danger of imminent death.[12]

In his research on the history of the Syrian baptismal liturgy, Sebastian Brock briefly attends to the relationship between the Epiphany and baptismal versions of the blessing of waters, agreeing with Engberding that the Greek Epiphany prayer originates from the baptismal version.[13] Brock presents a comparative history of the baptismal prayers for the blessing of water, and he uses the alternate Greek baptismal water blessing prayer "O Lord God almighty" as the comparative text for studying the history of Syrian manuscript *S, Add. 17218* of the eighth century.[14] Brock especially attends to the epicleses of the baptismal rites, stating that the pneumatic epicleses of both the Syrian and Greek rites were later interpolations, with the earliest epicleses containing no mention of the Holy Spirit.[15] He states that the epicleses of the Greek rite were also later interpolations into the Greek baptismal water blessing, occurring in the milieu of the Council of Constantinople in AD 381. Brock's analysis is important, but is limited to the origins of the epicleses since he does not examine any Greek versions of the "Great are You" text.

In his presentation and analysis of the rites of the Byzantine rite of Baptism, Arranz agrees with Engberding and Brock that the Epiphany prayer is probably based on a baptismal original, proposing that the variants in the Epiphany version

---

[10] "Das Μέγας εἶ κύριε-Gebet, wie es in den verschiedenen Formularen vorliegt, ist ursprünglich Epiphaniewasserweihegebet und stellt eine Amalgamierung eines alten Taufwassergebets dar mit einem alten Wasserweihegebet vom Feste Epiphanie" (Scheidt, pp. 32–3).

[11] Hieronymus Engberding, "Ein übersehenes griechisches Taufwasserweihegebet und seine Bedeutung," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14 (1965), p. 290. Engberding found the prayer text in Goar, p. 303. The text of this prayer is not in BAR, but it does occur in the thirteenth-century Bessarion (M. Arranz, *L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano*, p. 192). Bessarion describes this prayer as the "second prayer of holy baptisms."

[12] Arranz-II, p. 152.

[13] Sebastian Brock, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series* 23 (1972), p. 45, n. 1.

[14] Ibid., pp. 44, 46–51.

[15] Ibid., pp. 56–9.

likely derive from an independent festal prayer no longer extant.[16] Arranz concedes that the pneumatic quality of the first epiclesis, shared by Baptism and Epiphany, could possibly allow for the dependence of the baptismal version of "Great are You" on that of Epiphany.[17] However, he favors the baptismal origin of "Great are You." The two versions of the prayer are identical up until the end of D-2 ("epiclesis blessings"), where they separate and proceed with independent texts. Markos Vidalis supports the baptismal provenance of the prayer, based on its identical text with the Epiphany version for the first fifteen verses.[18]

Scheidt, Engberding, Brock and Arranz provide helpful insights into the development of the baptismal prayers for the blessing of waters. They do not, however, present enough evidence to draw any conclusions on the relationship between the baptismal and Epiphany versions because they eschew an analysis of the Epiphany "Great are You" texts. The unicity of the Epiphany text is crucial for offering a hypothesis on the nature of the relationship between the two versions of the prayer and analyzing the theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The following sections analyze the structure of the "Great are You" prayer to set the stage for hypothesizing its origins.

Presentation of Structure and Analysis of Text

This section analyzes most of the "Great are You" prayer in order to define its liturgical and theological role in the celebration of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. Both the baptismal and Epiphany versions of "Great are You" are divided into five major sections, and their subtitles provide identifying marks for their respective sections. The analysis uses the respective prayer texts from BAR, since it is the earliest euchological witness to both prayers (eighth century). Table 6.1 illustrates the order of the core structural components of each respective prayer and provides the section subtitles for the prayer texts:

Table 6.1 Structure of "Great are You" in Baptism and Epiphany

BAR Baptismal "Great are You" Structure	BAR Epiphany "Great are You" Structure
• Praise anamnesis	• Praise anamnesis (D-1)
• Epiclesis blessings	• Epiclesis blessings (D-2)
• Exorcism	• Anamnetic doxologies (D-3)
• Non-pneumatic epiclesis	• Epiclesis extension (D-4)
• Iteration of blessings	• Intercessions doxology (D-5)

16 Arranz-I, pp. 71–2. Arranz-II, pp. 161–2.

17 Arranz-II, p. 161.

18 Vidalis, p. 249.

Appendix D provides the complete text of the Epiphany version of the "Great are You" prayer of BAR. The baptismal and Epiphany versions are identical in the "praise anamnesis" section, and for most of the "epiclesis blessings" section (D-1 and D-2). Appendix D also provides the complete baptismal version of D-2 from BAR to show its similarity and divergence with the Epiphany version. The parallel portions of the two prayer texts demonstrate their shared dependence on a common source up until the point of separation. Their separation is final at D-3, as the Epiphany version commences the "anamnetic doxologies," and the baptismal version goes into an exorcism, although the two versions continue to share common themes.

Arranz has drawn conclusions on the theological characteristics of the baptismal text, and while his examination pertains to the liturgy of Baptism, his analysis helps to explain the Epiphany ritual, given its commonality with the baptismal version. Arranz asserts a tripartite division of the baptismal version, which resembles a classical Antiochene-type anaphora of the fourth century.[19] Arranz notes that the initial dialogue and Sanctus, staple components of an anaphora, are missing from the "Great are You" prayer. The prayer's resemblance to an Antiochene anaphora depends on the epiclesis. Arranz thus divides the "praise anamnesis" section into two anamnetic parts, the first part ending with the allusion to angelic worship,[20] and the second beginning with the apophatic appellations and New Testament anamnesis.[21] His third part includes the epiclesis. In the Antiochene family of anaphoras, the epiclesis follows the anamnesis and the oblation.[22] Though my structure of the prayer differs from Arranz's, both our arguments attend to the significance of angelic worship, apophatic language, and New Testament anamnesis. The unicity of the "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) section and the elaboration of the epiclesis in the "epiclesis extension" (D-4) section in the Epiphany text warrants the method of division followed here.

---

[19] Arranz-I, p. 71.

[20] "The many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, standing round about you and flying about you, hide their faces in fear of your unapproachable glory," BAR no. 131, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 356. See Appendix D-1.

[21] "You, the uncircumscribed God without beginning and beyond speech, have come upon earth, taking the form of a servant and being made in the likeness of man," BAR no. 131, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 356. See Appendix D-1**.** See Arranz-I, pp. 79–84, for Arranz's division of the "Great are You" prayer in Baptism.

[22] See Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation,* trans. Matthew O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1999), pp. 50, 292–4. For examples of the position of the epiclesis following the anamnesis, see John H. McKenna, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology*, Alcuin Club Collections No. 57 (Great Wakering, Great Britain: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975), pp. 29–33.

Analysis of "Praise Anamnesis" (D-1)

The "Great are You" prayer begins by praising God and his works. In P. Trempelas's collection of diverse Byzantine Euchologia, the incipit "Great are You, Lord, and marvelous are Your works" is recited three times, the customary practice of the *textus receptus*. BAR, *Paris Coislin 213*, and *Bessarion* do not mention a threefold recitation. The rubric indicating a threefold recitation is probably a later development, found in sources such as *Sinai 974* (sixteenth century).[23] One Euchologion, *Sinai 961* (eleventh–twelfth centuries), indicates that this prayer is said in the middle of the church.[24]

D-1 evokes an image of the cosmic worship of God, with an anamnesis of creation, a reference to angelic worship, and apophatic language employed in praising God, all characteristics of Antiochene anaphoras. Such theological language usually addresses the Father. The prayer eloquently recalls God's work in creation, emphasizing creation's service and obedience to God, as the light obeys God, and the fountains serve him.[25] Creation is thus a prominent theme expressed by the prayer, one to which the entire rite repeatedly returns. As the prayer progresses, allusions to the ministry of the angels, archangels, cherubim, and seraphim constitute a stark transition evoking an image of the entire universe gathered to worship God, presumably culminating in human participation. Table 6.2 comparatively presents the angelic praise section of the "Great are You" prayer with similar texts from the anaphoras attributed to Basil and John Chrysostom, chosen because of their Antiochene origins and use in Byzantine liturgical celebration:

Table 6.2 Euchological Texts of Angelic Praise Compared

"Great Are You" Excerpt	**Anaphora of St Basil (Byzantine) Excerpt**	**Anaphora of St John Chrysostom Excerpt**
The angelic powers minister to you; the choirs of archangels worship you; the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, standing round about you and flying about you, hide their faces in fear of your unapproachable glory.[26]	You are praised by angels, archangels, thrones, principalities, authorities, powers, and many-eyed cherubim. Round about you stand the seraphim …[27]	We thank you for this liturgy which you have deigned to accept from our hands, though there stand by you thousands of archangels and hosts of angels, the cherubim and the seraphim, six-winged, many-eyed …[28]

[23] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 668.

[24] "Prayer on the water of the Holy Theophany, said in the middle of the church," Dmitrievsky-II, p. 80.

[25] See also Vidalis, pp. 249–53.

[26] BAR no. 131. Translation based on *The Festal Menaion,* p. 356.

[27] BAR no. 14.9. Translation based on *The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with appendices*, 2nd edn., (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary, 1977), p. 129.

[28] BAR no. 32.10. Translation based on *The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with appendices*, 2nd edn., p. 63.

The above comparison demonstrates the independence of each text, yet the idea of angelic worship and praise is common to all, a foundational quality in Eucharistic prayers that include the *Sanctus*.[29] Arranz regards the text describing angelic praise and worship as unusual, since the narrative does not contain an interpolation of the thrice-holy *Sanctus*.[30] Arranz speculates that other eastern and earlier Byzantine versions of the text might have included the Sanctus, but draws no final conclusion on the issue. The *Sanctus* is sung immediately following the angelic praise in the Coptic version of the prayer, and its appearance here bolsters the hypothesis that "Great are You" is a derivative of an Antiochene-type Eucharistic prayer.[31]

As the anamnetic text proceeds, it recalls God's economy of salvation through New Testament events, beginning with the Son's taking on the form of a servant ("μορφὴν δούλου λαβών," Philippians 2:7), his sanctification of the virginal womb ("παρθενικὴν ἡγίασας μήτραν"), and his sanctification of the river Jordan by the descent of the Holy Spirit ("σὺ καὶ ἰορδάνεια ρεῖθρα ἡγίασας, οὐρανόθεν καταπέμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα") with no reference in this section to Old Testament narratives. This evidence appears to indicate that the prayer addresses Christ himself. Arranz argues that the first part of the prayer addresses the Father, since it contains no Trinitarian interpolations, and follows the patterns of prayers addressing the Father. He then argues that the prayer shifts in focus and addresses the Son because of its reliance on the economy of salvation as reported by the New Testament, but then shifts back to addressing the Father upon the arrival of the epiclesis.[32] On the basis of comparing variants of the prayer across Constantinopolitan manuscripts, he argues that the baptismal epiclesis (identical to the Epiphany version of D-2), when considered by itself, can only address the Father, since the consecration is always the work of the Father through the mediation of the Holy Spirit.[33]

Arranz's analysis of the issue of the prayer's addressee is not conclusive. His evaluation asserts change in the identity of the addressee within the body of the prayer, with some portions directed to the Father, and some to the Son. Vidalis attempts to resolve the question by suggesting that the prayer might have

---

[29] See also the pertinent sections from the anaphoras of St. James and Gregory Nazianzus in *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, eds A. Hänggi, I. Pahl (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1968), pp. 244, 360.

[30] Arranz-II, p. 155.

[31] See Burmester, p. 254.

[32] Ibid., p. 160.

[33] Ibid. Arranz specifically refers to BAR's baptismal epiclesis (see Arranz-I, p. 82). "The Father always remains the subject of the presence and of the sanctification; the consecration, as in the epiclesis of the anaphora of Chrysostom … it is the work of the Father by the mediation of the Spirit." ("La Père reste toujours le sujet de la présence et de la sanctification; la consécration, comme dans l'épiclèse de l'anaphore du Chrysostome … est l'œuvre du Père par le moyen de l'Esprit").

originated with the anaphora of Gregory Nazianzus, which addresses the Son.[34] P. de Puniet states that the "Great are You" prayer addresses the person of the Son.[35] The West Syrian liturgical scholar Baby Varghese, quoting a lengthy excerpt of the "Great are You" Epiphany prayer text published in *B.M. Add. 14.495*, asserts that "Great are You" addresses the Son (Christ).[36] The internal evidence of the "praise anamnesis" (D-1) suggests that it primarily addresses the Son. Its diverse contents suggest that it could have been a living euchological text, with one or more authors contributing to its content. The New Testament references occurring in this section give it a distinctly Christological character.

Analysis of "Epiclesis Blessings" (D-2)

The "epiclesis blessings" of D-2, exclusive of the final petitions, are common to the Epiphany and baptismal blessing of waters. The epiclesis in BAR's baptismal blessing of waters concludes with an entreaty asking God to cast out demons from the water and to make it an instrument of regeneration and sanctification.[37] The Epiphany version, on the other hand, adds further benefits reaped by participants, all of which is independent material.

Brock contends that the Greek baptismal version of D-2 is a later interpolation of a pneumatic epiclesis.[38] He refers to the epiclesis of an alternate prayer for the blessing of baptismal waters titled "Lord God almighty."[39] "Lord God almighty" occurs infrequently in the Euchologia of the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. Arranz states that this alternate prayer, which is much shorter than "Great are You," was used when candidates were in danger of imminent death.[40] It is relevant to this discussion because its epiclesis is mostly identical to that of Baptism and Epiphany (D-2), and Brock used the epiclesis of this prayer, not Greek editions of "Great are You," as evidence of the interpolation of a pneumatic epiclesis. Here is the text from *Bessarion*'s version of "Lord God Almighty" (thirteenth century):

> Look down, Lord, upon this your creation and bless this water and grant it the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a spring of incorruption,

---

34 Vidalis, pp. 253–54.

35 P. de Puniet, "Bénédiction de l'eau," in DACL, 2, 1, p. 702.

36 Baby Varghese, "Prayers Addressed to Christ in the West Syrian Tradition," in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan Spinks, foreword Martin Jean (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2008), pp. 99–102.

37 BAR no. 131. See also Arranz-II, pp. 162–5. Arranz calls this section a series of "épiclèses négatives," and interprets the celebrant's threefold breathing on and tracing his finger in the water as a cleansing action of the living God, recalling the sending of the Spirit over the waters at creation.

38 Brock, p. 58.

39 Ibid.

40 Arranz-II, p. 153.

> a gift of sanctification, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength.[41]
>
> Ἐπιδε Κύριε ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν σου ταύτην καὶ εὐλόγησον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ποίησον αὐτὸ ἀφθαρσίας πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον, δαίμοσιν ὀλέθριον, ταῖς ἐναντίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον, ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον.[42]

The invocation of the epiclesis ("Look down, Lord") of the alternate prayer differs from that of the "Great are You" prayers in BAR, though it also occurs in the baptismal "Great are You" epiclesis of *Bessarion*.[43] Brock contends that the above pneumatic epiclesis was interpolated into the baptismal blessing of waters even though there was an existing epiclesis positioned after the exorcism. Table 6.3 presents the epicleses and exorcism in BAR's baptismal texts to identify the pneumatic epiclesis (in *italics*), interpolated in the fourth century, and the original epiclesis (in bold):

Table 6.3 Comparison of Baptismal Epicleses (BAR nos. 122.2, 122.4)

Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water. And grant it the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a spring of blessing, a gift of sanctification, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength: Let all of those that conspire against your creature flee from it because I, Lord, have called upon your name, which is wondrous and glorious and fearful to adversaries.	*Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο*, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ποίησον αὐτὸ ἀφθαρσίας πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον, δαίμοσιν ὀλέθριον, ταῖς ἐναντίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον, ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον, Φυγέτωσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῷ πλάσματι σου ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα σου, κύριε, ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

[41] Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357. The first line of the translation is the author's.

[42] Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano,* p. 192.

[43] Ibid., p. 202.

Let all adverse powers be crushed beneath the sign of the image of the cross of Christ. We pray you, Lord, let all airy and invisible specters withdraw from us, and do not let a demon of darkness hide itself in this water, and do not let an evil spirit bringing darkening of thoughts and disturbance of mind, go down into it with the one being baptized, **but you, master of all things, reveal this water as water of rest, a water of redemption, a water of sanctification unto the purification from defilement of flesh and spirit**…[43]	Συντριβήτωσαν ὑπὸ τὴν σημείωσιν τοῦ τύπου τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου πᾶσαι αἱ ἐναντίαι δυνάμεις. Ὑποχωρησάτωσαν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐναέρια καὶ ἀφανῆ εἴδωλα, καὶ μὴ ὑποκρυβήτω τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ δαιμόνιον σκοτεινόν, μηδὲ συγκαταβήτω τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ – δεόμεθά σου, κύριε – πνεῦμα πονηρὸν σκότωσιν λογισμῶν καὶ ταραχὴν διανοίας ἐπάγον, **ἀλλὰ σύ, δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων, ἀνάδειξον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ὕδωρ ἀναπαύσεως, ὕδωρ ἀπολυτρώσεως, ὕδωρ ἁγιασμοῦ, καθαρισμὸν μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος**…

Brock argues that the second baptismal epiclesis ("But you, master") is the authentic original because it follows the exorcism from the water and is not pneumatic.[45] This original baptismal structure could be based on an Antiochene anaphora, as the exorcism would replace the oblation, with the epiclesis following. Brock contends that there is a duplication in phraseology, with the first epiclesis of "Lord God Almighty" ("look down, Lord") and its blessings written in a later period and based on the second ("but you, master").[46] Arranz agrees with Brock's analysis of the originality of the second epiclesis, though he is less certain that the first epiclesis is an interpolation.[47]

Brock's and Arranz's contributions clarify the history of the epiclesis in the baptismal blessing of waters. The issue is less certain for the Epiphany text of D-2. Like the other sections of the "Great are You" prayer, D-2 is very stable throughout the Byzantine Euchologion manuscript tradition. In fact, there are no known variants of the entire Epiphany epiclesis of D-2. The first apparent textual change in the Epiphany version of D-2 occurs in the expression of blessings received by the participants. BAR's text requests that the sanctified waters would be made a "spring of blessing" ("ποίησον αὐτὸ **εὐλογίας** πηγήν"). By the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, "spring of blessing" becomes "spring of incorruption" ("ποίησον αὐτὸ **ἀφθαρσίας** πηγήν") in *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion*. The new phrase survives to this day.[48] The "spring of blessing" reading was likely the original Epiphany version, as it survived through the eleventh century in *Euchologium Sinaiticum*.[49] Arranz's study of the baptismal texts in the early Constantinopolitan

---

[44] Translation based on Archimandrite Ephrem Lash, trans., "Baptism," available from http://www.anastasis.org.uk/baptism.htm; accessed February 16, 2008.

[45] Brock, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," p. 59.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Arranz-II, pp. 160, 164–7.

[48] In Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, p. 202. See also *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

[49] See J. Frček, ed., *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, p. 644.

Euchologion tradition shows that "ἀφθαρσίας" is retained throughout.[50] The stability of "ἀφθαρσίας" in the baptismal version, along with the commonalities shared by the baptismal and Epiphany texts, suggests that the baptismal preference for "ἀφθαρσίας" was eventually imposed upon the Epiphany version by the thirteenth century in *Bessarion.* The supplanting of "εὐλογίας" with "ἀφθαρσίας" suggests that the Epiphany prayer was increasingly influenced by Baptism.

In D-2, the Epiphany text differs from the baptismal version by defining the way the water will be used by participants. Participants draw from it and partake of it for cleansing, healing, and sanctification. The baptismal version proceeds into an exorcism. Arranz suggested that at this point of divergence, the Epiphany version may have drawn from an independent prayer.[51] This uniquely Epiphany portion of D-2 is stable throughout its history. It specifies both the liturgical and domestic usages of water that produce blessings of cleansing, health, and sanctification.

In summary, the Epiphany version of D-2 is stable throughout the history of the "Great are You" prayer. Unlike the baptismal epiclesis, there are no known alternative texts. The replacement of "εὐλογίας" with "ἀφθαρσίας" suggests the influence of Baptism on the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The last portion of D-2 commences the portion of the prayer peculiar to its use at Epiphany and is thus crucial for interpreting the meaning of the occasion.

Analysis of "Anamnetic Doxologies" (D-3)

The Epiphany "Great are You" includes a series of "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) absent from the baptismal version which elaborates the purpose of the prayer and may help explain its historical origins. This section occurs after D-2, and prior to the "epiclesis extension" (D-4). Each doxology recalls a specific biblical paradigm. Here is the text of D-3 with the biblical sources for each verse:

> (1) For you are our God, who have renewed through water and the Spirit our nature grown old through sin (John 3); (2) You are our God who drowned sin through water [in the days of] Noah (Genesis 7, 8); (3) You are our God, who in the days of Moses set free the Hebrew nation through the sea from the bondage of Pharaoh. (Exodus 14); (4) You are our God who cleft the rock in the wilderness: the waters gushed out, the streams overflowed, and You satisfied Your thirsty people (Exodus 17); (5) You are our God Who by water and fire through Elijah brought back Israel from the error of Baal (2 Kings 10:18–28); (6) Our God, who healed the bitter and barren waters by the salt of Elisha (2 Kings 2:19–22); (7) Our God, who received the inseparable concord of the Trinity in the Jordan and who manifested the single paternal essence of your Godhead to us in it.[52]

---

[50] Arranz-I, pp. 74–86. See also the texts for Baptism in *Paris Coislin 213* (presented with *Bessarion*) in Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, p. 185.

[51] Arranz-I, pp. 71–2. Arranz-II, pp. 161–2.

[52] Also see Appendix D-3.

D-3: Variants in Byzantine Euchologion Manuscript Tradition

The Byzantine Euchologion manuscript tradition indicates some variation in this section, as some verses of praise eventually disappear. The Armenian text of *San Lazaro 457* (ninth century) is shorter here, containing only verses four, five, and six of BAR above.[53] The West Syrian version of *B.M. 14.495* (tenth–eleventh centuries) is shorter, with four total verses, largely parallel to numbers one, two, three, and five of BAR above.[54] From a theological perspective, the Armenian text accentuates God's sustenance of God's people, and also a demonstration of divine power over idolatry. The absence of a reference to baptism in verse one is notable. The West Syrian text suggests baptism by referring to Noah and the Passover, and also the defeat of idolatry. The Byzantine, West Syrian, and Armenian version of "Great are You" are largely contemporaneous, and their textual differences in D-3 eliminate the possibility of employing theology as a method of reconstructing an earlier version of the textual component. The Byzantine text is the longest, and also the oldest, so it is most likely that three different editors belonging to each respective tradition modified the collection of verses accordingly.

Variations of the text occur among the Byzantine Euchologia. In *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, verse 2 describing Noah and the flood from Genesis is absent.[55] Later Euchologia modify verse 2. *Codex Athens National Library 661* from the fifteenth century provides the following variant (emphasis mine): "You are our God who through water *and the Spirit* drowned sin in the days of Noah."[56] *Codex Athens National Library 877* from the fifteenth century exchanges the synonym "*καταποντίσας*" for "κατακλύσας," without changing the meaning.[57]

Verse 6 recalling Elisha's healing of the bitter waters appears in BAR but is modified to be a part of a truncated verse in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* that combines it with the verse referring to the cleaving of the rock from Exodus 17: "You are our God, Who cleft the rock in the wilderness, made the waters draw back, and healed the bitter and barren waters by the salt of Elisha."[58] Notably, verse 6 is largely absent from the Byzantine Euchologion manuscript tradition after its modification in *Grottaferrata Gb VII.*

Verse 7, alluding to the activity of the Trinity in God's manifestation in the Jordan, is embellished in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* with the addition of the word "βαπτιζόμενος" after "Ιορδάνη." Like verse 6, verse 7 largely disappears from the Byzantine Euchologion manuscript tradition following its variant appearance in *Grottaferrata Gb VII.*

---

53 Conybeare, p. 176.

54 See Budge, p. 74.

55 Passarelli, no. 157.

56 Trempelas, p. 45.

57 Ibid.

58 Passarelli, no. 157.

In summary, while there is a limited number of variants apparent in published editions of the Byzantine version of the Epiphany "Great are You" prayer, they are noteworthy. First, this section of the prayer is clearly independent from its baptismal relative, containing theological motifs that define the Epiphany version. Select verses from the prayer have been retained or modified, and eliminated from this section, denoting at least one stage of redaction. The meaning of the "Great are You" prayer was modified by the disappearance of select verses in different stages of its history.

The "praise anamnesis" (D-1) predominantly evokes New Testament events, recalling the Pauline description of the Son's condescension by taking on the form of the servant, and referring to his Nativity and Baptism in the Jordan. The material that follows the angelic reference carries a distinctly Christological character and it is closely connected to the Theophany feast on January 6.

The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) broaden the anamnesis of the entire prayer by recalling God's saving activities throughout history. God removed sin from the world and preserved creation and humanity through the flood reported in Genesis. God freed the Hebrew people from bondage to Pharaoh in the Exodus, quenched their thirst by cleaving the rock and providing water in the wilderness, and transformed the water for his people through Elisha. Through fire and water, God demonstrated his rule and victory over Baal through his servant Elijah, and manifested his power for the conversion of his people. These five events all recall God's saving activity as recorded in the Old Testament, and they include his use of creation, especially water and fire, along with the participation of his chosen prophets and leaders. The emphasis on Old Testament events does not correspond to D-1, which relies on New Testament references. The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) constitute an anomaly because of their odd position as an anamnesis following an epiclesis, which follows neither a typical Antiochene anaphora structure, nor the baptismal model.

Verse 1 relies on a Johannine reference to Baptism, and remains consistent with the language of the Old Testament allusions through its reference to the instrumentality of water. Verse 7, which disappeared from the Byzantine manuscript tradition, introduces the momentous concept of the Jordan event and the manifestation of God as a work of the Trinity.

In summary, D-3 constitutes a core of internal evidence that helps interpret the prayer's meaning. The Old Testament paradigms suggest that the waters are sanctified by the same God who consistently uses creation to deliver his people from sin and bondage, to nourish them, and to work for their conversion. Verse 7 occupies a position of crucial importance by helping to define God's work as an act of the entire Trinity. Its disappearance from the Byzantine Euchologion tradition impacts its theological interpretation in the later stages of the rite's history. The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) position Christ's work within the entire historical continuum of God's economy of salvation, defining his blessing of the waters on Epiphany as the culmination of a sequence of salvific events performed through the instrumentality of water. Their position in the structure of the prayer appears to be out of order and raises questions about their origins.

Analysis of "Epiclesis Extension" (D-4)

The terse pneumatic "epiclesis extension" (D-4) is unique to the Epiphany prayer and absent from the baptismal version.[59] Because of its seeming redundancy, repeating the request of D-2, the Byzantine version of D-4 requires explanation. The history of D-4 indicates a subtle change that may have resulted in a misinterpretation of the text. BAR (eighth century), *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (tenth century), and *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* (twelfth century) use the participle "ἁγιάσας" to describe an action already accomplished.[60] It appears that at some point in the Euchologion manuscript tradition this verb was either incorrectly copied or changed to an imperative denoting a present action, "ἁγίασον," as in *Paris Coislin 213* (eleventh century) and *Bessarion* (thirteenth century).[61] The use of a present imperative instead of an active participle denoting a past action has led to the conclusion that this prayer has two separate epicleses. The original text of BAR better preserves the flow of the text by referring to one divine action in the epiclesis proper (D-2). What is often called a second epiclesis (D-4) merely refers to the action of the Holy Spirit invoked in D-2.

Table 6.4 Comparison of Epicletic Texts

	Older Version	**Newer Version**	**Older Version**	**Newer version**
	(BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII, Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*)	(*Paris Coislin 213*, *Bessarion*)	(BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII, Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*)	(*Paris Coislin 213*, *Bessarion*)
D-2	Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο	Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο	Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water.	Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water.
D-4	Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, ἁγιάσας τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῷ πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ	Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῷ ἁγίασον πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ	Now yourself, master, having blessed this water by your Holy Spirit, grant sanctification, blessing, purification…	Now yourself, master, do bless this water by your Holy Spirit. Grant sanctification, blessing, purification… [61]

[59] A similar epiclesis extension also occurs in the West Syrian rite (Budge, p. 74), the Armenian rite (Conybeare, pp. 176–7), and the Coptic rite (Burmester, p. 255). The Coptic and West Syrian texts of D-4 are quite similar to that of BAR. The Armenian text begins with an epiclesis ("Do thou now thyself, o Lord, draw nigh to us through Thy Holy Spirit"), but the remainder of its content differs from BAR, *B.M. Add. 14.495*, and the Coptic texts.

[60] See Vidalis, pp. 253–5, for his analysis of this change.

[61] Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, p. 202.

[62] Translations based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

The above comparison illustrates that BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, and *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* contain one epiclesis proper (D-2). The second text (D-4) refers to the first epiclesis (D-2), and essentially repeats the spiritual blessings requested in D-2. The textual change evidenced by *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion*, which became entrenched in the Byzantine Euchologion tradition, suggests two separate epicleses as D-2 and D-4. Vidalis correctly contends that a second invocation is not represented in the early liturgical tradition.[63] The imposition and entrenchment of the so-called "second" epiclesis in the Byzantine texts beginning in the eleventh century appears to have resulted in the creation of a disorganized and redundant prayer structure. The history, however, does not explain the seeming redundancy of D-4 in repeating the spiritual blessings requested by D-2.

Hypothesis on the Origins of the "Great are You" Prayer

This study offers a hypothesis for the origin of the "Great are You" prayer. The Epiphany and baptismal prayer texts separate at the end of D-2, as the baptismal blessing begins an exorcism while the Epiphany prayer defines the participants' activities for receiving the blessings. The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) represent the most striking difference between the baptismal and Epiphany texts. In Baptism, the request that God expel the demons follows the epiclesis of D-2, which requests that the water be changed by the descent of the Holy Spirit (see Table 6.3 above for the baptismal texts). Brock and Arranz have demonstrated that the baptismal version of D-2 was a pneumatic interpolation. The original baptismal epiclesis ("But you, master," Table 6.3 above) was actually non-pneumatic and occurred after the exorcism. Brock states that the position of an epiclesis following the exorcism is more sensible.[64] Thus, the structure of the original baptismal blessing of waters consists of "praise anamnesis", exorcism, and epiclesis. This original structure is analogous to a typical Antiochene anaphora, in which the epiclesis follows the anamnesis and oblation. The interpolation of the pneumatic epiclesis adds a new component to the baptismal structure, resulting in two epicleses.

The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) provide the most obvious clue to the question of the prayer's origins as they do not fit in the structure of the prayer. The biblical paradigms of D-3 begin with Old Testament references and conclude with the New Testament. There is no place for them in the version of the rite anterior to the interpolation of D-2 because they interrupt the order of the biblical paradigms in

---

[63] Vidalis opines on the possibility of correcting the text: "The question remains if the Church should intervene in an upcoming edition and correct the text or if this second epiclesis does not pose a problem for the ritual or theological plans to the point of requiring such an intervention" ("Reste la question si l'Eglise doit intervenir sur une prochaine édition et corriger le texte ou si cette deuxième épiclèse ne pose pas problème sur les plans rituels ou théologiques au point d'exiger une telle intervention"), in Vidalis, p. 255.

[64] Brock, p. 59.

D-1, which refers to New Testament events. Their position following the epiclesis of D-2 is also awkward because it places a second anamnetic text after an epiclesis. This corresponds neither to a typical Antiochene anaphora, nor the evolution of the baptismal version of "Great are You." It seems that D-3 is a fragment from an independent prayer that is no longer extant, and was added to the baptismal structure of the "Great are You" prayer to make it suitable for blessing Epiphany waters.[65]

The last portion of D-2 and the "epiclesis extension" of D-4 are also peculiar to Epiphany. Brock stated that the "epiclesis blessings" of D-2 are based on the ancient baptismal epiclesis ("But you, master") by pointing out "the obvious duplication in phraseology: ποίησον – ἀνάδειξον, τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως – ὕδωρ ἀπολυτρ[ώσεως], ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον – ὕδωρ ἁγιασμοῦ."[66] The editors of the new pneumatic epiclesis used the themes from the old epiclesis while composing the new. My hypothesis follows Brock's argument by suggesting that the Epiphany redactors created their version of D-2 by revising the baptismal pneumatic epiclesis to make the prayer suitable for the blessing of waters on Epiphany.

The "epiclesis extension" of D-4 is thematically compatible with the epiclesis of D-2. Both D-2 and D-4 request blessing, sanctification, and healing or purification for those who draw from the water, touch it, and anoint themselves with it. It is possible that the insertion of the "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) led to the creation of D-4, first as a reference to the epiclesis of D-2, and then a second epiclesis, with "ἁγίασον" replacing "ἁγιάσας."

Brock's and Arranz's analyses help reconstruct the historical development of the Epiphany version of the "Great are You" prayer. This hypothesis accepts their conclusions on the interpolation of the pneumatic epiclesis and also on the baptismal origin of the "Great are You" prayer. By the eighth century, "Great are You" came to be used for the blessing of waters on Epiphany. If a different prayer was used before then, it is either unknown or no longer extant. The "Great are You" prayer began to be used for the Epiphany blessing of waters with the pneumatic epiclesis of D-2 in its baptismal position. Since exorcism to protect baptizands was not suitable for the blessing of waters on Epiphany, the end of D-2 was revised to reflect the Epiphany use of the water, and D-3, possibly a fragment from an independent Epiphany text, replaced the exorcism and the original baptismal epiclesis. Since the "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) were in the odd structural position following an anamnesis, the "epiclesis extension" of D-4 was possibly composed to reconnect the "anamnetic doxologies" with an epiclesis (now D-4). The entrenchment of the present imperative "ἁγίασον" made D-4 into a second epiclesis, which made the structure even more awkward.

---

[65] I am grateful to Dr Dominic Serra, Associate Professor of Liturgical Studies at The Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, for discussing the oddity of D-3 with me from December 2007 to January 2008.

[66] Brock, p. 59. See also Arranz-II, pp. 164–5.

The ninth- to tenth-century Armenian version of "Great are You" from *San Lazaro 457* provides evidence that appears to be in line with this hypothesis.[67] The Armenian "Great are You" is structurally similar to the Byzantine version. Its "praise anamnesis" section is essentially identical to the Byzantine. A pneumatic epiclesis follows, with an enumeration of the same blessings in the Byzantine baptismal and Epiphany versions of D-2. Its epiclesis does not include any references to those who partake of, draw from, or are anointed by the water, which constitute the Epiphany interpolation into the Byzantine version of D-2. After a brief section of "anamnetic doxologies," parallel to the Byzantine D-3, another pneumatic epiclesis occurs, but again contains no references to those who partake of, draw from, or are anointed by the water. The Armenian, West Syrian, and Coptic versions of "Great are You" have no intercessions parallel to the Byzantine D-5, and conclude with different doxologies. The conclusion of the prayer with intercessions (D-5) in the Byzantine rite is likely a result of its Constantinopolitan context. *Sinai 957* (ninth century) and Pseudo-Kodinos (fourteenth century) both testify to the celebration of the blessing of waters at the imperial palace, where intercessions including the bishops and the emperor would be appropriate. *Sinai 957* includes the following rubric: "Whenever the patriarch blesses the waters in the palace, he places this at the end of the prayer: and save, Lord, your faithful servants [the] emperor."[68]

The Armenian version of "Great are You" in *San Lazaro 457* appears to be based on the prayer for the baptismal blessings of waters. It parallels the Byzantine version as it contains elements related to Epiphany, though these are not as pronounced as the Byzantine Epiphany revisions. The existence of an Epiphany revision of the baptismal "Great are You" prayer is consistent with this hypothesis on the development of the Byzantine version. Further study of the development of the Armenian Epiphany "Great are You" prayer can contribute to learning more about the prayer's history.

Table 6.5 summarizes the proposed evolution of Epiphany's "Great are You" historical development in the Byzantine tradition:

Table 6.5 Hypothesis on Origins of "Great are You"

Baptismal Version (Before AD 381)	**Baptismal Version (After AD 381)**	**Epiphany Version 2 (circa Eighth Century)**	**Epiphany Version 3 (circa Eighth Century)**
Praise anamnesis	Praise anamnesis	D-1: Praise anamnesis	D-1: Praise anamnesis
	Pneumatic Epiclesis	D-2: Epiclesis, Epiphany addition	D-2: Epiclesis, Epiphany addition

[67] For the English translation of the text, see Conybeare, pp. 175–7.

[68] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 8.

Exorcism Non-pneumatic Epiclesis	Exorcism Non-pneumatic Epiclesis	D-3: Anamnetic doxologies D-4: Pneumatic Epiclesis	D-3: Anamnetic doxologies D-4: Epiclesis extension, Epiphany addition
		D-5: Intercessions	D-5: Intercessions

In conclusion, the "Great are You" prayer originates in Baptism and was modified with festal additions to fit the liturgical context of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) were added to fit the themes of the Epiphany celebration, and the pneumatic epiclesis of D-2 was retained and modified. The "epiclesis extension" of D-4 was interpolated into the structure following D-3 to make sense of the odd position of a second anamnetic text. Its Byzantine Epiphany version was revised to reiterate the main themes of D-2, which explains the parallel themes and references to partaking of, drawing from, and being anointed by the water. The structure and contents of the Armenian, West Syrian, and Coptic versions of "Great are You" are consistent with my hypothesis on the baptismal origin of the prayer. This proposal confirms the contributions of Brock and Arranz and agrees with their positions on the baptismal origins of the "Great are You" prayer. It emphasizes the interpolation of D-3 into a pre-existing structure as an anomaly because of its lack of conformity with the earlier baptismal structure and a typical Antiochene anaphora. The hypothesis uses the anomaly of D-3 as a point of departure for hypothesizing the revision of D-4 as a reference to D-2.

This analysis addresses the question of the status of the origins of the "Great are You" prayer and articulates its liturgical and theological purpose in the context of the rite of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The Epiphany and baptismal shared portions of the "Great are You" prayer raise questions about origins and mutual influences between the two rites. These questions remain largely unresolved. Arranz speculated that Epiphany materials were added to the structure of a prayer once used for the baptismal blessing of waters.

By comparing the Epiphany "Great are You" prayer to its baptismal relative and considering it according to its own themes, the following thematic sections were identified: "praise anamnesis" (D-1), "epiclesis blessings" (D-2), "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3), "epiclesis extension" (D-4), and "intercessions doxology" (D-5). The Epiphany version of the prayer separates from its baptismal relative, demonstrating its independence, while its unique components, especially D-3, help illustrate its unique meaning, and articulate its greater theological and liturgical function.

This study presented a hypothesis on the origins of the Epiphany "Great are You" prayer and its historical relationship with the baptismal version. My hypothesis builds on the contributions of Brock and Arranz by accepting their positions on the baptismal origin of the "Great are You" prayer. The pneumatic

epiclesis of D-2 (baptismal version) was already in place when "Great are You" began to be used for the Epiphany sanctification. Since an exorcism of the water was not needed to protect baptizands in the Epiphany blessing, the end of D-2 was modified to conform it to Epiphany activities. This proposal identifies the "anamnetic doxologies" of D-3 as the clue to solving the puzzle of the prayer's origins. The "praise anamnesis" (D-1) is based on New Testament events, while D-3 begins with several Old Testament allusions. It is possible that D-3 was a fragment remaining from an independent Epiphany prayer no longer extant, and was inserted to replace the exorcism, again connecting the prayer to Epiphany themes. Its length and content suggest that it comes from a different source. Since D-3 occupied an odd structural position following the epiclesis (D-2), D-4 was likely composed to refer to D-2 as a past event and make sense of the structure. The unique texts of the Epiphany version provide the clues to offering this hypothesis on the prayer's development.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 7
Memory and Praise of the Lord's Theophany

Five themes from the "Great are You" prayer set the stage for greater elaboration of the theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. First, the prayer is highly Christological, as it addresses Christ and employs language that draws upon the anamnesis of the Epiphany feast as its main source. Second, the image of angelic worship is evoked to emphasize worship of Christ, who is the initiator of divine activity in the liturgical assembly, and the assembly joins the angels in glorifying him. Third, the prayer also has a Trinitarian motif, referring to divine work as an act of the Holy Trinity, with each person of the Trinity acting in a particular way revealed by the story of the feast. Fourth, creation is also a prominent theme in "Great are You," as creation participates in the divine activity, and is also illuminated. Fifth, the prayer refers to the Baptism of Christians, as it frequently interprets the gifts granted to the participants through baptismal motifs. The following sections examine the liturgical context of the blessing of waters on Epiphany to demonstrate how they elaborate the core themes expressed by the "Great are You" prayer.

Christology and Divine Activity in the Blessing of Waters on Epiphany

The previous chapter identified the salient thematic portions from the "praise-anamnesis" (D-1) and "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) sections of the "Great are You" prayer. D-1 follows the pattern of a Eucharistic prayer with its allusions to creation, angelic worship of God, and salvation history, particularly mentioning Christ's human birth and entrance into the waters of Epiphany. The New Testament references of the prayer begin a Christological trajectory. D-3 breaks the New Testament theological pattern by making several doxological statements rooted in Old Testament instances of God's saving humanity through the instrumentality of water. The blessing of waters on Epiphany contains other liturgical structures and components that provide a broader context for interpreting the theology expressed by "Great are You." The ektene and synapte are valuable sources for elaborating the blessing of waters on Epiphany. This is particularly true for BAR, which contains an anamnetic ektene beginning with six petitions recalling God's activity from Old Testament narratives and one New Testament petition. Appendix A presents the Greek text and an English translation of BAR's ektene, with the anamnetic petitions occurring in verses 2 through 10. These lead into epicletic petitions requesting God to act and bless the waters for the benefit of the participants. The anamnetic petitions of BAR pertain to the purpose of the prayer because they recall God's

activity through specific scriptural events, and then lead to the epicletic petitions, which invoke God to bless the waters for the participants.

BAR's ektene confirms and expands the themes of D-1 and D-3 in "Great are You." The first three anamnetic petitions parallel the creation motif from the D-1, recalling God's act of creation. Then, the petition commemorating Elijah's demonstration of God's omnipotence in 1 Kings interprets the divine command to pour water over the wooden altar three times as a manifestation of an act of the Trinity. A New Testament image refers to the Gospel accounts of Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan. Finally, the reference to God's multiplication of the flock by Jacob's rod and the allusion to drawing from the water of salvation from Isaiah correspond to the ideas of nourishment and growth from the series of "anamnetic doxologies".

Sinai 973 (twelfth century) provides an anomaly of sorts in its contents for the synapte and ektene. Following the first parts of the rite, the rubrics prescribe a synapte with a silent prayer, the exclamation "for you are holy, our God" and the Trisagion, the Prokeimenon with New Testament lessons, and then an ektene with several unique petitions.[1] Included among the petitions is the following: "Lord our God, who maintained the righteous Noah in the water…"[2] This verse accords with the reference to God's activity performed through Noah in Genesis in D-3 of "Great are You." Its presence in the ektene of *Sinai 973* suggests a unique, local retention of an Old Testament theme, which could indicate a later stage of its existence in the manuscript tradition of the blessing of waters. Thus, the early stratum of anamnetic petitions represented by BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* presents two complementary parts of a theological idea. The role of the Son in the blessing of the waters is positioned in the entirety of salvation history, as the fulfillment of his saving work, particularly events involving water. The ektene also interprets the divine activity as a manifestation of the Holy Trinity. Thus, the ektene of BAR expresses a theology of sanctification and salvation through water by referring to the entirety of salvation history, and holds much in common with D-1 and D-3 of "Great are You."

The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (tenth century) produces several New Testament references. The following petitions from the ektene articulate a profound heortology:

1. Christ our God, born in Bethlehem and laid in a manger, we pray to you, hear us and have mercy.
2. Christ our God, who gushes forth illumination and sanctification to us, we pray to you.
3. You who came forward to be baptized in the Jordan and desire to fulfill all righteousness, we pray.
4. You who inclined your undefiled head to your servant John, in order to release us from the tyranny of bondage, we pray to you, hear us.

---

1 Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 89–91.

2 Ibid., p. 90.

5. You who in days of old drowned sin through water and again summoned the world to salvation, we pray to you, hear us.
6. You who [by] the Holy Spirit and fire sunk and expelled the bitterness of our sin in the Jordan, we pray.[3]

The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb X* contains the first four of these petitions recalling New Testament themes.[4] Petitions 1 and 2 also survive in the ektene of *Sinai 991*,[5] and in *Sinai 974*, though petition 2 is somewhat modified there.[6] Since petitions 1 and 2 are preserved until at least the sixteenth century in an ektene, Table 7.1 provides a comparative glimpse at the Greek textual variants of these Euchologia:[7]

Table 7.1 Comparison of Ektene Petitions

***Grottaferrata Gb X* (10th Century)**	***Sinai 991* (14th century)**	***Sinai 974* (16th century)**
(1) Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακλιθείς, δεόμεθά σου ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον.	(1) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακληθείς	(1) Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακληθείς, δεόμεθά σου ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον
(2) Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πηγάζων ἡμῖν φωτισμὸν καὶ ἁγιασμόν, δεόμεθα.	(2) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πηγάζων ἡμῖν φωτισμὸν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν, δεόμεθα, ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισθῆναι παραγενόμενος	(2) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πηγάζων ἡμῖν φωτισμὸν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν, δεόμεθά σου ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον

Consistency characterizes the text across all three versions with one noteworthy exception: *Sinai 991* replaces the title "Χριστὲ" with the more common "Κύριε." Both *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974* begin petition 2 with "Κύριε" instead of "Χριστὲ." This change is significant for interpreting the intentional meaning of the ektene, since "Κύριε" normally begins ektene petitions. Its deliberate replacement with "Χριστὲ" indicates the intent to address the person of the Son himself, and creates a closer link with the stories evoked by the petitions. In receiving the collection of petitions comprising the synapte and ektene, the editors of the later Euchologia

3 Passarelli, no.155.

4 In Conybeare, p. 423. See also Afanaseva, p. 40. The fourteenth-century Serbian *trebnyk* also includes the Nativity petition.

5 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 330.

6 Ibid., p. 676.

7 The final clause of petition 1 beginning with "δεόμεθά σου" is eliminated from analysis here, as it serves as the standard completion of most ektene petitions, rendering its absence from *Sinai 991* inconsequential.

replaced "Χριστὲ" with "Κύριε" for unknown reasons.[8] The consistent use of "Χριστὲ" in *Grottaferrata Gb X* indicates the intent to address the prayer to Christ, and establishes Christ as the addressee of all the prayer's petitions with the consistent use of the article "Ὁ" in the remaining anamnetic petitions. Christ's birth in Bethlehem functions as the anamnesis in petition 1, linking the celebration of the blessing of waters to the previous Nativity feast. Petition 2 asserts the following: "Christ our God, who gushes forth life and illumination to us, we pray [to You, hear us and have mercy]."[9]

The use of "illumination" suggests an allusion to Baptism, given the frequent expressions of baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters. BAR mentions illumination as a clear reference to Baptism on specific liturgical occasions. For example, BAR includes two different prayers for those preparing for illumination ("Εὐχὴ εἰς τοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον φώτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένους"), one recited during the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts and another at the sixth hour.[10] Illumination is not necessarily confined to Baptism, but its use in the Epiphany petitions presented here clearly coincides with the gifts granted at Baptism.

The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (tenth century) elaborates Christ's economy of salvation through an anamnesis of his Baptism in the Jordan: the granting of righteousness in petition 3; the paradox of inclining his head to John to deliver "us" from the tyranny of slavery in petition 4; the granting of salvation to the world through the instrumentality of water in petition 5; and delivering humanity from the bitterness of sin by the Spirit and fire in petition 6.[11] In summary, these select petitions from the ektene emphasizing New Testament themes directly address Christ and identify him as the one who blesses the Epiphany waters by integrating an anamnesis of paradigmatic New Testament events into the euchology. The spiritual blessings granted by Christ in his Baptism, particularly deliverance from the slavery of sin, are given to participants in the blessing of waters, revealing a relationship between Baptism and the Epiphany feast.

Athos Kostamonitos 60 (sixteenth century) contains a synapte with 24 petitions. Several petitions are of an anamnetic character, similar, though not identical, in content to the other petitions analyzed above. The synapte includes the following anamnetic petitions:

1. Baptized in the Jordan, having sanctified the nature of the waters, let us pray to the Lord;
2. You who loosed the sentence of primeval sin, and were gracious to us of old by adopting us as sons;
3. You who by Moses sweetened and cleansed your people's thirst;

---

[8] Possibly to conform to the more common "Κύριε" occasionally used in the ektene and its prayer.

[9] *Grottaferrata Gb X*, Conybeare, p. 423.

[10] BAR nos. 43.1, 2 and 107.1, 2.

[11] Passarelli, no. 155.

4. You to whom the Father bore witness by the revelation of the Holy Spirit;
5. You who were baptized in the Jordan and the currents of the waters;
6. You who are the light, having received living beings in captivity through Baptism;
7. You who were baptized by a servant, graciously adopting us as sons, and who commanded John to reveal your acceptance.[12]

Petititions 1, 4, and 5 recall Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan, with 7 connecting his Baptism with the participants' adoption as sons (presumably through Baptism). Petition 2 provides the soteriological motif of deliverance from sin resulting in adoption of sons, and petition 6 addresses Christ as the light who receives beings in captivity. Petition 3 furnishes the lone Old Testament motif, recalling God's provision of water for his people in the wilderness. The synapte's petitions from *Athos Kostamonitos 60* are witness to a critical mass of euchological anamnetic petitions occurring in where the saving appearance of Christ is positioned as the consummation of salvation history.

The Prayer "Lord Jesus Christ"

Other prayers from the Byzantine blessing of waters contribute to our understanding of the liturgy's theology. Like the "Great are You" prayer, the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," customarily recited during the chanting of the initial ektene/synapte, consistently appears in the Byzantine Euchologia consulted for this study. "Lord Jesus Christ" appears in all the Byzantine Euchologia studied here, though it appears to have been moved from its usual position in the thirteenth-century *Patmos 719*.[13] Appendix B contains BAR's text of the prayer.

Both the beginning and the ending of the prayer reveal its intent to address Christ, evidenced by the language of the opening line, and by the exclamatory concluding doxology, which renders glory, honor, and worship to Christ with (σὺν) his Father and his Holy Spirit.[14] In its initial praise of Christ, the prayer paraphrases the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by calling Christ "the True God" ("ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός") and "the light from the light" ("τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός"). The prayer's anamnetic quality recalls the New Testament acts of incarnation and Baptism in the Jordan with particular emphasis on the latter, as it is the paradigm for the blessing of waters. This prayer remains consistent with the theology of the ektene in elucidating the relationship between this liturgical celebration and Baptism, since Christ's Baptism which sanctified the nature of the waters ("τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν ἁγιάσας") leads to new birth through water and

---

[12] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 850.

[13] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 179.

[14] See Joseph Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, trans. Geoffrey Chapman (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1989), pp. 5–7 on using doxologies of prayers in the Byzantine tradition to determine the addressee of the prayer.

the Spirit ("ὁδοποιήσῃς ἡμῖν τὴν δι᾽ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν"). This prayer affirms the theology expressed by the ektene in its invocation of Christ to bless the waters for the benefit of the participants. This establishes that the ektene/synapte and prayer "Lord Jesus Christ" directly petition Christ to initiate a new saving act, including the Father and the Holy Spirit in the doxology. As the prayer completing the ektene/synapte, "Lord Jesus Christ" illustrates the connection of the litanic petitions to Christ's blessing of the Epiphany waters. Furthermore, the consistently stable presence of this prayer throughout the history of the blessing of waters amplifies its contribution to interpreting the celebration's theological purpose, constituting solid evidence for the liturgy's Christological emphasis.

Prologue: Christological Motifs

The Prologue of the Byzantine blessing of waters also contains significant Christological motifs that contribute to the theological interpretation of the liturgy. The examples provided from the ektene/synapte and the "Lord Jesus Christ" prayer consistently demonstrate the Church directly addressing Christ in the water blessing's euchology. Unlike these examples, the Prologue alludes to Christ's activity in blessing the waters without directly addressing him, which fits its liturgical function as a poetic narrative expressing the Church's imagination of the event. The following verses from BAR's Prologue provide an early foundation:

> (C-8) Today the invisible one becomes visible in order to manifest himself to us;
> (C-9) Today the uncreated one by his own will receives the laying on of hands from his own creation;
> (C-10) Today he who does not bow down bows his neck before his servant so that he might release us from slavery;
> (C-12) Today the master reforms the archetype through the regeneration of the image.[15]

Byzantine Euchologia such as *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Grottaferrata Gb X*, and *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* contain the first petition (C-8) and then continue independently, although several Euchologia include petitions similar to the second petition. BAR seems to represent an independent and older stratum of material in the Christological category here that was either modified or disappeared from the later Byzantine manuscript tradition. This collection of verses expresses the divine condescension in Christ's work by alluding to his incarnation, Baptism, and the bowing of his neck, all of which result in the transformation of humankind.[16]

---

[15] BAR no. 130, translated by author. See Appendix C for context. The numbers correspond to Appendix C.

[16] Note the technical language employed in the last verse of this series in BAR.

Euchologia such as *Grottaferrata Gb VII* reveal poetic verses that broaden the scope of Christ's work in saving humankind through specific events. The following sample from the collection of "todays" in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* powerfully illustrates their embellishment of the core story of Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan.

1. Today the master comes to Baptism, in order to raise the race of humanity to the heights;
2. Today the one who shaped the heavens and the waters, creating the sea, is brought to the Forerunner as a lamb;
3. Today the master is baptized by a servant;
4. Today the prophet approaches the creator with love and with fear is led forward to God;
5. Today the hand of the prophet is laid on the fiery head, in order, through him, to clothe us in the pool of incorruption;
6. Today the springs of the waters were sanctified by Christ, the one who was manifest in glory in the Jordan river;
7. Today the abyss is sunk in the pool from the one who comes down, and the creator of all is baptized in the water;
8. Today the servant is brought forward with fear, and the master goes to him;
9. Today the ancient garment of sin is uncovered and clothed by the garment of incorruption;
10. Today all of creation is shaken from the manifestation of Christ in glory.[17]

Several of the declarations elaborate the themes already introduced, especially God's initiative in acting to save humankind (1), God's condescension in deigning to be baptized by the hands of a servant (3, 4, 5, 8), creation's reaction to and participation in the event (2, 6, 10), and the formation or emergence of new people, often employing baptismal language (1, 7, 9). Jesus' manifestation in glory as the Christ serves as the central event source from which all of this activity flows (6, 10). Along with the content from BAR's Prologue, these verses depend on the festal story to demonstrate how Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan leads to the divine activity in the blessing of the waters. *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, *Codex Athens National Library 877*, *Codex Athens National Library 663*, and *Sinai 974* all include some of the Christological verses from *Grottaferrata Gb VII* before developing into greater elaboration on the occasion's meaning. The following verses illustrate theological development:

1. Today all of creation cries to the one who is baptized: blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and appeared to us; (*Codex Athens National Library 877*)

[17] Passarelli, no. 157. The quote's numbering is for convenient presentation, and does not reflect the actual order of the verses in the prayer.

2. Today the death of disobedience occurs in the Jordan river, and the sharpness of wandering and the union of Hades is destroyed in it; our Lord and God Jesus Christ releases sin and grants a Baptism of repentance to the world; (*Codex Athens National Library 877*);
3. Today the Redeemer goes into the Jordan to sanctify the waters, and the Forerunner laid hold of the head of the immortal one: John breathed the myrrh of sweetness; (*Codex Athens National Library 663*, *Sinai 974*).[18]

As before, these verses illustrate an elaboration of the same thought, with additional emphasis on the fruits of Baptism for participants.

Verse 2 from *Codex Athens National Library 877* and a verse from the Prologue of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* are of particular interest because of their references to the destruction of Hades.[19] The depiction of Christ's descent into the Jordan as a journey to Hades to recover Adam, who is lost, is an ancient theological idea rooted in Syriac literature, particularly in the *Homily on Epiphany* of Jacob of Serug (AD 521).[20] Jacob sets the stage for Jesus' baptism in the Jordan by depicting a dialogue between Jesus and John the Baptist, in which John does not understand the purpose of Jesus' baptism since he is fully divine and sinless.[21] Jesus explains that he descends into the water to recover Adam, so that the image that has become faded might be cleansed, an image of the universal cleansing of humanity through Jesus' baptism.[22] Sebastian Brock and Kilian McDonnell both point out that Jacob is simply sustaining a theological theme already established in the Syrian tradition

---

[18] Trempelas, p. 42. *Codex Athens National Library 663* contains a similar verse as part of a compound, longer verse: "Today the voice of the Father bears witness to the one who is baptized, saying: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And all creation cried aloud, praising the master: blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." (Trempelas, p. 40). *Sinai 974:* Dmitrievsky-II, p. 682. Here, the verse divides into two.

[19] The verse from *Grottaferrata Gb VII* is more implicit: "Today the abyss is sunk in the pool from the one who comes down, and the creator of all is baptized in the water," in Passarelli, no. 157.

[20] See Jacob of Sarug, *Jacob of Sarug's Homily on Epiphany*, ed. and trans. Thomas Kollamparampil (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008); Sebastian Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, OCA 205 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1978), pp. 236–9; and McDonnell, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan,* pp. 156–67.

[21] Jacob of Serug, *Homily on Epiphany*, ed. and trans. Kollamparampil, nos. 181–201 (pp. 26–30).

[22] "Our Lord says 'I am not lacking but in one thing: the recovery of Adam who was lost from me is being sought by me. Allow me to descend to seek Adam, the fair image, and when I find him the whole of my desire shall be fulfilled. It became a great search for me in his case and on account of that I have come, and it would be a deficiency if I cannot find the lost one. The recovery of him, that alone is what is lacking with me: to regain Adam who was willing to perish at the hands of the evil one. In this recovery my desire will come to perfection, because Adam is needed by me to enter into his inheritance. Therefore, allow me

by Ephrem, though his soteriological claim is clearly linked to Jesus' baptism in the Jordan.[23] The references to Hades are admittedly scarce in the history of the Byzantine blessing of waters, yet its appearance in *Codex Athens National Library 877* suggests the possibility that the anamnesis of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan had a soteriological significance in the Byzantine tradition similar to that of the Syrian at some point in history. The complete analogy of Jesus' entrance into the Jordan with his descent into Hades indicated by Jacob of Serugh suggests that entrance into death and resurrection begins when one participates in the blessing of waters.

In summary, the contents of the poetic "todays" complement the themes expressed by the "Great are You" prayer, with a particular emphasis on the participation of creation and the salience of Christ's condescension in his paradigmatic baptism in the Jordan. The Prologue's pre-eminent themes include creation as instrument, participant, and witness to the event, and the granting of deliverance from sin and adoption as sons in Baptism as a fruit of the water blessing's celebration. The reference to the destruction of Hades in the verses from *Codex Athens National Library 877* and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* attests to the Prologue's theological breadth, and its affinity with the theology prominent in the West Syrian tradition.

Variant Prayers: "Glory to You, Christ"

Evidence from a variant of the Prologue contributes to the rich Christology of the blessing of waters. Two Byzantine Euchologia, *Grottaferrata Gb X* and *Sinai 974*, contain a Prologue, "Glory to You, Christ" (Appendix G) divided into two distinct sections, the first addressing Christ and proceeding into an anamnetic section that aligns the memory of his action in the paradigmatic event with the anticipated activity of the liturgical celebration.

Grottaferrata Gb X places this prayer under the subtitle of "Prologue," immediately following the synapte and its prayer addressing Christ, and prior to the Prologue "Blessed is the God of Israel," which then proceeds into the series of poetic "todays." *Sinai 974* appends "Glory to You, Christ" to "Uncreated Trinity" in the midst of a collection of prefatory texts, illustrated by the following unique structure (current prayer in bold):

---

to descend to cleanse the image that has become faded, lest it too would remain deficient, should you withhold me," ibid., nos. 201–12 (p. 36).

[23] Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, pp. 326–9; McDonnell, pp. 162–7.

Table 7.2 Prologues in *Sinai 974*

[Opening Hymns]
[Readings]
• Ektene/Prayers
• Psalm verses
• Opening of Prologue: "Blessed are you, Lord God of our fathers, who blesses and sanctifies all things. We glorify you, master…"
• "Let us pray to the Lord." Prayer of apology ("Uncreated Trinity")
• "**Glory to You, Christ**"
• "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel…"
• "todays"

An analysis of the prayer's theology can assist in creating a hypothesis on its historical development. Ultimately, the prayer is apologetic, for the celebrant himself, as it prepares him to celebrate the remainder of the blessing of waters. Apologetic prayers preceding an invocation of the Church for God to act are not uncommon in the Byzantine tradition. Both Eucharistic liturgies of the Byzantine tradition have prayers requesting that God would accept the prayer of the celebrant for the people.[24]

After remembering Christ's work in his Baptism with an emphasis on his great mercy ("τὸ μέγα ἔλεος") and the decisive result for humanity, namely its illumination ("φωτίσας πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων"), the prayer employs an exorcistic motif by anticipating Christ's cleansing of the waters through the descent of his Holy Spirit ("τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος … ἐπιτάσωμεν τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις δαίμοσιν"), and requests that Christ wipe away the transgressions of the ministers ("ἐξάλειψον τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν")[25] and stand by him ("καὶ παράστα μοι") as he celebrates the rite.

Theologically, the prayer functions to provide the celebrants with the proper spiritual disposition as they lead the liturgy. In this instance, the prayer draws upon an ecclesiological model where Christ is the celebrant, standing at the head of the community, and offering the appointed ministry through the liturgical president. The celebrant's request that Christ stand with him supports this model, and, together with the prayer's incipit praising Christ ("Glory to you, Christ our God") and the material recalling Christ's illumination of humanity through his Baptism in the Jordan, the prayer accentuates the liturgy's trajectory of addressing all petitions and requests to Christ as the author of the event, further contributing to its Christological emphasis.

[24] See BAR no. 31, "Prayer of the offering" ("Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς"), "O Lord, Almighty God … accept even our prayer of us sinners…"

[25] The use of the plural pronoun "ἡμῶν" suggests the cleansing of the people's sins.

Historically, this prayer likely served as an apology for the celebrant, part of a collection of independent material. The witness of *Grottaferrata Gb X* is particularly helpful in hypothesizing the historical place of this prayer. Both BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contain a version of "Uncreated Trinity," which is absent from *Grottaferrata Gb X*. The presence of both apologetic prayers in *Sinai 974*, along with "The Heavenly Principles," another prayer of apology occurring in Stage One of the history of the blessing of waters, appears to support the mutual independence of the two apology prayers, even though "Uncreated Trinity" occurs with the most frequency in the Euchologia. The editors of *Sinai 974* probably collated all three prayers, along with other prefatory material, to create a lengthy composite Prologue based upon a variety of sources. In summary, the prayer's appearance in both *Grottaferrata Gb X* and *Sinai 974* provides further evidence that the blessing of waters has a distinctly Christological orientation in its euchology.

The liturgical theology of the blessing of waters is pointedly Christological, more overtly so in this liturgical celebration than one might encounter on other occasions. The Christology I present here differs from a more customary type because in the critical mass of liturgical examples studied here, the Church draws upon an anamnesis of salvation history in which Christ acted and calls directly upon Christ to act again. Comparative liturgy confirms this particular Christological emphasis. For example, in the blessing of Epiphany waters of *B.M. Add. 14.495* (tenth- to eleventh-century Syrian), the broader liturgical context contains a euchology that fits the same pattern of Christological anamnesis leading to epiclesis.[26] For some reason, the blessing of waters brought forth a type of unique liturgical prayer in many places of the East that more clearly aligns Christ's work in salvation history with his present saving work. Most Christian traditions would not hesitate to accept all liturgical celebration as an anamnesis of the good news of Christ's saving Pascha, with an understanding that the Risen Christ is present and presiding over today's Christian liturgy.[27] The blessing of waters advances this paradigm by conveying the image of a praying Church remembering Christ and petitioning him to initiate the saving action now in the euchological

---

[26] See, for example, the first prayer, "O Maker of the Worlds," which ends with the doxology, "Thou thyself art the dispenser of perfect gifts … together with Thy Father and Thy Holy Spirit," in Budge, pp. 67–70. The West Syrian version of "Great are You" and the next prayer, "O Lord of Every Nature," also contain the same doxology, with the rest of the prayers' contents clearly addressing Christ (pp. 71–6).

[27] Robert Taft, "What Does Liturgy Do? Toward a Soteriology of Liturgical Celebration: Some Theses," *Worship* 66 (1992), pp. 194–211. Taft similarly presents the Byzantine liturgy of the hours, particularly its hymnographic tradition, as an anamnesis of Christ's salvation, with the same risen Christ presiding at today's liturgy in idem, "Christ in the Byzantine Divine Office," *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan Spinks, foreword Martin Jean (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), pp. 65–87.

narrative, an instance of liturgical prayer that stands out in the larger family of liturgical celebration.

Trinitarian Themes in the Blessing of Waters

While the evidence presented to this point favors an interpretation of the blessing of waters as primarily addressing Christ and accentuating baptismal themes, one can argue that early variants of the "Great are You" prayer and other liturgical components contain important elements of Trinitarian theology which give shape to the Christological priority in the rite. The final verse from D-3 in early Euchologia such as BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* ends that section by referring to the revelation of the Trinity in the foundational story: "Our God, who received the inseparable concord of the Trinity in the Jordan and who manifested the single paternal essence of your Godhead to us in it."[28] Despite this verse's disappearance from the later Euchologion tradition, this study demonstrates that the blessing of waters retained a salient Trinitarian theology throughout its history.

The liturgical structures and components of the blessing of waters also contain a strong Trinitarian theological current. In addition to the petition that interprets Elijah's three-fold pouring of the water on the wood as a symbol of the Trinity,[29] BAR contains a petition towards the end of its ektene that evokes Trinitarian activity: "That the good purification of the supersubstantial Trinity would come down upon these waters, we pray to you."[30] This latter petition invokes the cleansing operation of the entire Holy Trinity upon the waters. It also occurs in BAR's synapte for the blessing of baptismal water, but does not consistently appear in the synaptoi of the Epiphany liturgies. Several additional petitions from the ektene/synapte expand the concept of Trinitarian activity:

1. You who accepted the witness of the Father and are contemplated as the only-begotten Son for us, we pray (*Grottaferrata Gb VII*, no. 155; *Grottaferrata Gb X*).

---

[28] See BAR no. 131.

[29] "You who revealed the three persons of the single Godhead to us through Elijah the Tishbite through the threefold pouring out of the waters, we pray to you" (BAR no. 127.6, Appendix A).

[30] BAR no. 127, 15. BAR no. 120.9 employs the same petition in its synapte for the blessing of baptismal water. See also *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Athos 162* (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 40), *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* (Conybeare, p. 431), and *Codex Athens National Library 2724* (Trempelas, p. 31). The synapte from *Evergetis Typikon* also includes the petition. Following the pattern established by the ektene and synapte petitions, its appearance in the Euchologion manuscript tradition is sporadic, present in many earlier Euchologia as evidenced here, but absent from important witnesses like *Sinai 957*, *Paris Coislin 213,* and the later *Sinai 974*. It reappears in the sixteenth-century *Athos-Kostamonitos 60* (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 851).

2. Christ our God, who received the witness of the Father by the Holy Spirit in the Jordan. (*Sinai 973*).
3. Lord our God, who was glad to be revealed of the mystery of the Holy Trinity (*Sinai 973*).[31]

Historically, the above petitions do not constitute a critical mass of liturgical evidence since they are limited to three sources. The first petition, like many of the prominent anamnetic ektene petitions, is limited to the tenth- and eleventh-century southern Italian witnesses. Theologically, this petition is notable because it identifies the Father as an active witness to the manifestation of the Son. The next two petitions are found only in *Sinai 973*, but their specific identification of the Father and the Holy Spirit as participants in the unfolding of the mystery is significant. In summary, while the synapte and ektene do not offer an elaborate Trinitarian theology, the allusions to Trinitarian work in BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Grottaferrata Gb X*, and *Sinai 973* demonstrate that some litanies predominantly addressed Christ as the initiator of the action, and many of the same Euchologia included petitions that referred to the activity of the Father and the Spirit in cooperation with Christ. The explicit mention of the entire Holy Trinity in a context of addressing the prayer to Christ reveals the event as a work of the Trinity with Christ as the central initiator.

In summary, it is crucial to note that such salient anamnetic expression of God's work is largely limited to the ektene/synapte of the Euchologia presented here.[32] Numerous sources of the Euchologion manuscript tradition do not contain particularly Christological or Old Testament anamnetic content, yet are critical for interpreting and understanding the meaning of the liturgical rite. *Sinai 957*, *Sinai 958*, *Paris Coislin 213*, *Bodleian Auct. E.5.13* and *Bessarion* all serve as examples of Euchologia that contain a synapte without the aforementioned qualities. Thus, while variants of the anamnetic ektene, and perhaps synapte, survived into the sixteenth century, both the Old Testament and Christological versions were more prevalent in the earlier stage of the history of the blessing of waters.

Trinitarian References in the Prologue

Select verses from the Prologue elaborate the role of all the persons of the Holy Trinity in their contents. Immediately prior to the intonation of "Great are You," *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains a punctuating text that completes the series of poetic "todays," from which the following excerpt is taken:

> …the Holy Spirit has descended in the form of a dove and the Father cried from above, saying: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Truly the

---

[31] Conybeare, p. 423, Dmitrievsky-II, p. 90.

[32] See *Sinai 973* in Dmitrievsky-II, p. 90, as an example of a Euchologion with anamnetic contents independent from the model presented here.

> prophet said: voice of the Lord upon the waters, the God of glory thundered, Lord upon many waters. Therefore we sinners heed the counsel of the prophets, and cry and say [Great are You, Lord…].[33]

Lacking any known antecedents, this conclusion to the Prologue in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* concludes by foreshadowing the themes to come in the "Great are You" prayer. The cherubim and seraphim praise and glorify the only-begotten Son in song, and, in a simple paraphrase of the Gospel account, the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove while the Father cries out, "this is my beloved Son…" The following verse from the poetic "todays" embellishes the final idea through the following verses: "Today the Father's voice bears witness, saying: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,"[34] and "Today the Holy Spirit comes down from heaven on the water in the form of a dove and all creation praises the master."[35] *Codex Athens National Library 663* also contains the following unique compound poetic verse: "Today the master is baptized by a servant and is witnessed to by the Father, and the fire of divinity is baptized in the waters, and the one who is baptized sanctifies the baptizer."[36] An excerpt from *Codex Athens National Library 877* corroborates these themes by recalling the angelic worship and alluding to the Sanctus within the Prologue: "Today all the heavenly powers together are completing a delightful dance for the race of men and are singing the triumphal hymn, holy, holy, holy are You, consubstantial and undivided Trinity."[37]

Collectively, these verses, many of which appear in Stages Two and Three of the history of the blessing of waters, simply paraphrase the Gospel accounts, and in the case of the final example, apply them to the occasion at hand. The prayer maintains Christ as the initiator and author of the event, and literally inteprets the Gospel so that the Father bears witness to the Son, with the Holy Spirit sent to manifest Christ. One variant verse, from the Prologue of *Codex Athens National Library 877*, adds a new, more traditional dimension to the role of the Father in the event: "Today the heavens are opening and the Father brings the Son to his own Baptism."[38] Here, the Father is the initiator of the historical action, bringing the Son to his own Baptism. Nevertheless, the prevailing concept expressed by the

---

[33] The "Great are You" prayer would normally appear here, though *Grottaferrata Gb VII* only indicates D-3. The incipit to the prayer was written in the margins by another hand (Passarelli, p. 114, n. 4).

[34] *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, Conybeare, p. 433. See variant in *Codex Athens National Library 663*, where the verse has been conflated into a compound sentence*:* "[The Jordan turned back when it saw the hand of the servant laid upon the undefiled head of the master] and heard the voice of the Father that bore witness and said: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," Trempelas, p. 43.

[35] *Codex Athens National Library 663* (Trempelas, p. 43).

[36] Trempelas, p. 38.

[37] Trempelas, p. 43.

[38] Ibid., p. 42.

Prologue remains the Father bearing witness to Jesus as the Son of God, acting together with the Holy Spirit to reveal the saving person of Jesus Christ, whose Baptism opens the doors of the heavens.[39] The Father's activity in bearing witness confirms the relationship between Epiphany and Christ's Nativity. Christ's birth is completed by his entrance and manifestation as the divine son of God. This is most effectively illustrated by a verse from the Prologue of *Codex Athens National Library 877*: "Today the nature of the Holy Trinity is made present."[40] Ultimately, the paradigmatic event of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan reveals not only Christ, but the entire Holy Trinity.

Trinitarian Themes: Festal Hymns

The Byzantine rite typically assigns two Troparia (hymns) to the conclusion of the blessing of waters, namely the Troparion "When You were Baptized" (Appendix F-1) and another, "Today the Trinity" (Appendix F-2). These two Troparia articulate the activity of the Trinity in the historical event.[41]

The consistent appearance of the two Troparia at the end of the blessing of waters denotes their function of summarizing the theology of the liturgical context. TGC's version of "When You were baptized" accentuates the Father's role as the one who begets, evidenced by the use of "Γεννήτορος" instead of "Πατὴρ." "When You were Baptized" identifies the ultimate result of Christ's baptism in the Jordan: the manifestation of the worship of the Trinity, an allusion to the Baptism all Christians share with Christ, for the purpose of authentically worshipping the Trinity. The theology of "When You were Baptized" is consistent with the examples from the Prologue I have examined here in recalling the Gospel story and emphasizing the witness of the voice of the Father at the event, and the Spirit as manifesting Christ. In its opening verse, "Today the Trinity" emphasizes cooperation between the three persons of the Trinity in their divine activity, and then follows the same pattern of recalling the activity of the Trinity's persons in the Gospel story. Note the difference in the concluding doxologies of the two Troparia: the first addresses "Christ our God," again accentuating him as the core person of the event, whereas the second simply praises "our God," though later

---

[39] The incipit of the verse, "Today the heavens are opening" introduces the notion of the opening of the heavens, perhaps a soteriological motif addressing the closing of paradise in Genesis 3:24.

[40] "Σήμερον ἡ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ὑπόστασις ἐπιφαίνεται," in Trempelas, p. 38.

[41] Two important sources indicate differences. TGC indicates the singing of the Troparion "Voice of the Lord upon the waters" at the conclusion of the blessing of waters (Mateos, pp. 182–3), which is confirmed by Migne's publication of the *Hypotyposis* of Theodore of Studios in PG 99, 1717–8.

versions of the same Troparion reveal an expanded, more specific text addressing "Christ our God."[42]

From a theological perspective, the presence of a text that does not address Christ is not problematic, since the Troparia articulate the revelation and the worship of the Trinity through the event of Christ's Baptism. Thus, two related themes emerge: Christ's baptism reveals him to be the only-begotten son of God, and through participation in the event, Christians come to know all the persons of the Holy Trinity. In conclusion, the Troparia corroborate the themes introduced by earlier versions of D-3 in the "Great are You" prayer, and collectively, though not always cohesively, expressed by the Trinitarian themes of the ektene, synapte, and Prologue. Each liturgical component confirms the testimony from the Gospel story: the Father bears witness to the manifestation of Jesus as the Christ and Son through his baptism in the Jordan, while the Holy Spirit confirms the authenticity of the revelation by revealing Jesus' true identity.

"Uncreated Trinity": Prayer of Apology

One of the more intriguing components of the blessing of waters is the prayer of apology "Uncreated Trinity" (BAR version, Appendix C) usually situated after the ektene/synapte, addressing the Holy Trinity. Many editions of the Byzantine Euchologion do not mention "Uncreated Trinity," so its historical occurrence is sporadic, and its text and its position vary among the liturgical sources.[43] For example, in Euchologia such as BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, and *Grottaferrata Gb X*, "Uncreated Trinity" immediately precedes the beginning of the second Prologue. *Codex Athens National Library 663* and *Codex Athens National Library 877* place "Uncreated Trinity" prior to the "Great are You" prayer, after what was previously the second Prologue with its poetic "todays."[44] In his collection of Euchologia, Panagios Trempelas notes that a second editor has written in *Codex Athens National Library 670* that "Uncreated Trinity" is not to be recited.[45]

---

[42] For example, the text from TPA favors the version from TGC, "согласно явлися боже нашь, слава тебе," (Pentkovsky, p. 316). See *Evergetis Typikon* for an example of the variant (Jordan, p. 418).

[43] The rubrics of a Euchologion like *Sinai 966* (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 212) seem to indicate a progression immediately from the synapte to the "Great are You" prayer. Having finished the prayer of the synapte, the priest follows these rubrics: "and immediately he begins aloud: wisdom. Great are You, Lord, and marvelous are your works." Clearly, the prayer of apology and Prologue are absent.

[44] Trempelas remarks that a note has been interpolated into the rubrics of *Codex 663* indicating that recitation of the prayer was optional for the celebrant: "We did not receive the saying of this prayer from the Church's tradition. But if he wants to, he can say it," Trempelas, p. 35.

[45] "We read in the margin by a second hand: we do not say this prayer, but immediately the quiet 'Incline and hearken to us, Lord'" (ibid).

Obviously, for some local church communities, the recitation of "Uncreated Trinity" was an innovation, and perhaps resisted.

"Apology" accurately describes "Uncreated Trinity" given the celebrant's request that God would overlook his errors and accept the prayer he offers on behalf of the people.[46] The first person singular form employed throughout ("illumine the eyes of my understanding" and "may the prayer that I offer for the people present here be acceptable, let not my faults hinder your all-Holy Spirit from coming to this place") characterizes the private, devotional prayer of the celebrant preparing to do something significant.[47]

A similar apologetic prayer for the celebrant occurs in an analogous position in the Byzantine rite of Baptism, immediately following the synapte and prior to the baptismal version of the "Great are You" prayer.[48] The contents of the texts clearly demonstrate their independence from one another, and also a pattern, traceable to BAR, for reciting apologetic prayers preparing the celebrant. In the blessing of waters, "Uncreated Trinity" is about the preparation of the celebrant. Its text directly addresses the Trinity, followed by a series of apophatic epithets describing the ineffability of the Trinity: "invisible, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed."[49] Arranz implies that its baptismal parallel has a greater ecclesiological concern, so that the event being celebrated would prove fruitful for the baptismal candidates.[50] His remark that the prayer is likely to be anterior to Christological controversies since it addresses God alone with no reference to Christ is instructive here, as "Uncreated Trinity" curiously addresses the Trinity with the long series of apophatic adjectives, likely placing its composition after the Anomean controversies of the fourth century.[51]

---

[46] "Apology" is my appellation. According to BAR, the prayer is a Prologue. "Πρόλογος τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανῶν…" (BAR no. 121.1).

[47] Text from BAR no. 121.1, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, 353–4. See Vidalis, p. 241, who agrees: "It is a matter of a prayer of the purification and the illumination of the celebrant" ("Il s'agit d'une oraison de la purification et l'illumination du celebrant.").

[48] BAR no. 121. At Baptism, this prayer is silently recited ("the priest prays to himself"). The incipit of the prayer: "O compassionate and merciful God, who examines hearts … you who knows everything about me, may you not find me abominable, nor turn your face away from me…" (BAR no. 121.2).

[49] "Uncreated, consubstantial, without beginning, omnipotent, omniscient, invisible, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, maker of spiritual beings and rational natures" (BAR no. 129.2, Appendix C-1).

[50] Arranz-II, p. 150: "It's a matter of a personal apology where the celebrant prays for himself for the celebration of Baptism that is dignified and profitable for its participants." ("Il s'agit d'une apologie personnelle où le célébrant prie pour lui-même en vue d'une administration du baptême digne et profitable aux candidats").

[51] Ibid., p. 151. On the influence of the Anomean heresy on the language of Eucharistic prayers, particularly the anaphora of St. John Chrysostom, see Robert Taft, "St. John Chrysostom and the Byzantine Anaphora that Bears his Name," in Paul Bradshaw

In summary, the "apology" prayer "Uncreated Trinity" assists in extrapolating the meaning of blessing of waters for three primary reasons. First, its position parallel to similar apologetic prayers in the Byzantine Eucharistic liturgy and ritual of Baptism helps define its function as preparing the celebrant to invoke God to act, which grants a degree of importance to the celebration of the rite. Second, the series of apophatic epithets corresponds to the language employed in D-1 of the "Great are You" prayer ("for you, God, uncircumscribed, without beginning and beyond speech"), revealing internal consistency within the language of the rite.[52] Third, the fact that the celebrant addresses the Trinity in a prayer unique to the Epiphany liturgical celebration confirms the recurring reference to the divine activity as an act of the entire Trinity, with Christ serving as the author of the action.

Angelic Worship

One of the prominent features of the "Great are You" prayer is the reference to angelic worship at God's throne, in which the Church participates through the liturgy. Byzantine prayers and hymns frequently include references to angels and their worship of God, on ferial and festal occasions. Angelic worship is a constituent component of a Eucharistic prayer. Its presence in the blessing of waters is unusually prominent, as it helps define the meaning of the feast. The Epiphany references to angelic worship significantly contribute to the theology of the blessing of waters. Several verses from select versions of the Prologue, along with excerpts from prayers isolated within the Byzantine Euchologion manuscript tradition, illuminate the event's ecclesiology and heortology.

The text immediately preceding the commencement of the poetic "todays" in BAR provides a helpful preview: "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel for he has visited and redeemed his people: for behold, the time of the feast has drawn near to us, and angels with men celebrate and a choir of saints draws near to us."[53] This statement envisions a common worship of God shared by angels and

(ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1997), pp. 205–13.

[52] *Sinai 974* includes a uniquely apophatic invocation applied to Christ towards the end of its Prologue: "Therefore you, all-holy master, undefiled, without beginning, invisible, uncircumscribed, undivided, unsurpassable, immeasurable, longsuffering Lord, who alone has immortality, light and image of the existing and unapproachable Father, having taken flesh from the Holy Spirit and Mary…" Dmitrievsky-II, p. 680. Compare this language to the apology prayer to the Trinity which follows shortly thereafter in the same section of the office: "Uncreated Trinity, consubstantial, without beginning, invisible, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, maker of spiritual beings and rational natures," ibid.

[53] BAR no. 130, titled "Ἕτερος πρόλογος" or second Prologue (Appendix C). See also *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (Passarelli, no. 157), which retains the exact same text of this second Prologue.

humans gathered together, with the liturgical celebration transcending space and time. Thus, just as at the Eucharistic liturgy, the remembrance of Christ's work in his historical Theophany allows all participants, both earthly and heavenly, to call upon him to act again.

Select verses from Prologue variants support and elaborate this idea, as exemplified by this verse from *Grottaferrata Gb VII*: "Today the angels together with people jointly praise those who are going down, clothed in incorruption."[54] The heavenly rejoicing refers to those newly clothed in incorruption through baptismal illumination.[55] The unique conclusion to the Prologue from the same Euchologion (*Grottaferrata Gb VII*) brilliantly connects the angelic worship with the purpose of the event:

> Come, see the abundantly shining sun who is being baptized in the springs of the river: come, see God, who has a hand laid on him by man, the only-begotten Son whom the cherubim praise and glorify in song; the seraphim describe and joyfully proclaim the mystery to all of creation. For the Holy Spirit has descended in the form of a dove and the Father cried from above, saying: this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.[56]

Grottaferrata Gb VII provides an invaluable witness by overtly stating that the angelic worship is directed towards Christ himself, with the witness of the Father and the Holy Spirit noted. *Sinai 974*, in an even more blatant expression, makes a similar connection in its unique Prologue: "We glorify you, only-begotten Son, consubstantial and enthroned together with your eternal Father, and your life-creating Spirit: We glorify you, who are seated upon the cherubim and praised by the seraphim."[57] *Grottaferrata Gb X* and *Sinai 974* also mention the Trisagion hymn in Prologue excerpts addressing Christ, supporting and confirming Christ as the object of angelic adoration.[58]

In summary, the early witness of the Prologues of BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* establishes the degree of importance attributed to the liturgical event. In unique and independent variants, namely *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Sinai 974*, the Prologue indicates that Christ himself is the object of angelic worship, accentuating his status as the author of the event, with the witness of the Father and the Holy Spirit.

---

54 Passarelli, no. 157.

55 "Those who are going down, clothed in incorruption" (ibid).

56 Ibid. "Great are You" commences at the conclusion of this section.

57 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 679.

58 "…and laid the hand upon you, Christ, who has great mercy. Since your undefiled body was bare, the waters of the Jordan were wrapped [around you] by John; the cherubim cried, unceasingly saying with a great voice: holy, holy, holy, the one who came and was baptized in the river Jordan, and illuminated the entire race of humanity," Appendix G.

Creation Motifs

The Prologue of the Byzantine blessing of waters contains several poetic verses that offer a profound vision of creation. The following verses from BAR's Prologue are particularly illustrative (the number preceding each verse corresponds to the verse's position within BAR's series of verses):

1. Today the heavens delight in raining dew upon the earth.
2. Today the never-setting sun appears and the world is illuminated.
3. Today the moon shines on the world with the brightness of its rays.
4. Today the luminous stars beautify the world.
5. Today the clouds give the dew of righteousness to humankind from the heavens.
6. Today all of the waters spread their back to the feet of the master.
7. Today the whole creation is watered by breathing streams.[59]

Given their clear thematic cohesion, these verses constitute a significant theological expression of creation's role in the celebration of the Epiphany feast. *Grottaferrata Gb VII* opens with these same verses, but continues with several independent verses, many based on the same theme.[60] *Bodleianus Auct.E.5.13* also follows BAR's pattern in the beginning before adding more verses, totaling 39.[61] *Grottaferrata Gb X* follows a similar pattern, while *Sinai 957* follows a different order, though it includes some of the same verses.[62] The Prologue in the Armenian *San Lazaro 457* (ninth century) contains slightly variant versions of five of BAR's creation verses above, with five additional verses reflecting upon the participation of creation in Jesus' Epiphany.[63] The prologues of other Euchologia evidence either significant editorial modification, the conflation and complete rearrangement of verses, or the compilation of verses from varying sources resulting in a completely different order.[64]

---

[59] From BAR no. 130, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 354. BAR indicates that this series of "todays" constitutes the second Prologue (Ἕτερος πρόλογος). See Appendix C for the entire text of the Prologue.

[60] Passarelli, no. 157.

[61] See A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur 'in Lingua Phari' de Messine," pp. 286–8. Conybeare furnishes the incipits of the verses from BAR, and the complete verses of this Euchologion in pp. 432–3.

[62] Dmitrievsky-II, 7–8. The first three verses follow BAR's order, but Dmitrievsky ceased publishing the verses, referring readers to Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 369, stating that there were not many changes. This proves to further hinder comparison, since Goar's publication includes five of the petitions, but in a different order, scattered among another variant collection. See Goar, p. 369.

[63] Conybeare, pp. 170–74.

[64] See *Codex Athens National Library 877* and *Codex Athens National Library 663* of the Athens National library as exemplars of developments in Stages Two and Three in

The verses expressing the creation motif vividly portray the conversion and sanctification of humanity by God. Like the allusions to the instrumentality of water in God's work presented throughout, creation participates in revealing the meaning of the Epiphany feast to humankind by raining dew (2), revealing beauty and righteousness (5 and 6), delivering brightness and illumination (3 and 4), and recognizing and submitting to the author of creation (7). Creation occupies more than a functional role in God's work: it also exercises obedience and experiences a transformation as the sun too is illuminated (3), and the waters obey their master (7).

In summary, the creation motif in the poetic Prologue retained a generally stable presence in select Italian Euchologia through about the twelfth century. Its resilience throughout the manuscript tradition—the verses did not disappear altogether from Goar's Euchologion, but were simply repositioned—testifies to its theological significance and contribution to the theological purpose of the blessing of waters. As a cohesive unit, particularly in Stage One of its development, it both supports and embellishes the depiction of creation in D-1 of the "Great are You" prayer. Creation serves not only as a paradigm for obedience, but also for participation in God's plan of salvation. As a result of God's economy, creation is also transformed and revealed as beautiful.

Conclusion

This chapter contains a detailed analysis of theological ideas gleaned from the "Great are You" prayer and elaborated by the surrounding liturgical context. I identified five main themes from "Great are You" that are clearly woven throughout the whole liturgical context: a distinctly Christological emphasis, especially with reference to Jesus' baptism and the baptism of neophytes, prominent Trinitarian themes, angelic worship of Christ, and a potent theology of creation. The liturgical context of the blessing of waters on Epiphany confirms the hypothesis that the "Great are You" prayer addresses Christ as the author and initiator of the liturgical event, while defining it as an act of the Holy Trinity, with the Father and the Holy Spirit occupying defined roles. The most notable quality of this particular liturgy is the language of the liturgical context: it usually begins with an anamnesis of Christ, and continues with a petition to Christ as the person who initiates divine activity here and now, at the liturgy. The waters are sanctified through the work of all three persons of the Trinity, with an emphasis on the Father as witness and the Holy Spirit as manifesting Christ. The historical presentation notes the commonality of the prayer with the rites of baptism, though the Epiphany version contains a corpus of material independent from its baptismal relative. My argument depends on the liturgical material from other portions of the blessing of waters, since the "Great are You" prayer itself offers only limited historical evidence, given its consistency throughout the Euchologion tradition, while the other parts of the blessing of waters

---

Trempelas, pp. 39–44.

share and embellish its thematic contents. Arranz was one of the first scholars to attempt to resolve the question of the "Great are You" prayer's addressee, and an investigation of the corpus of material in the entire blessing of waters confirms its intent to address Christ. I also noted the differentiating Christological quality of the blessing of waters. It is not unusual to understand all liturgy as representative of Christ's saving work, but a liturgical celebration that so closely aligns Christ's activity in salvation history with his initiating activity in blessing waters for our salvation today is noteworthy.

The Christological emphasis of the blessing of waters does not prohibit an expression of profound Trinitarian theology. Several verses from the ektene/synapte and Prologue further accentuate the event as an act of the Trinity, and some petitions define the role of the Father and the Holy Spirit by paraphrasing the Gospel account of the Father's witness and the Holy Spirit's manifestation of Christ. The hymns that traditionally conclude the liturgical rite firmly support this trend. My presentation and analysis of these select texts from the Prologue, ektene/synapte, hymnography, and variant prayers reveals a robust image of the manifestation of the Trinity at Jesus' Epiphany. In this scheme, the water blessing's Christology and Trinitarian theology are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. The euchology and texts interpret Christ's Baptism and sanctification of the Jordan as a continuation of God's work throughout the entirety of salvation history by alluding to Old Testament antecedents that assert God's salvation of his people through the instrumentality of water.

Contextually, the "Great are You" prayer used for the blessing of waters constitutes the apogee of the entire liturgical rite, and directly addresses Christ as the author, initiator, and chief celebrant of the liturgical event. The language of the prayer understands the unfolding of the event and the grace it bestows as an act of the entire Holy Trinity, with the Father bearing witness to Christ as the divine son of God, and the Holy Spirit manifesting Christ. A high degree of solemnity comparable to the celebrations of Baptism and Eucharist can be ascribed to the event, given the need for the celebrant to request purification and illumination during its course in the form of a prayer of apology, the frequent references to the colloquy of humanity and angels worshipping at the event while singing the thrice-holy hymn, the transformation of humanity through participation, and the intercessions offered on behalf of all at the prayer's conclusion.

The examination of the liturgical material reveals one additional point that uniquely shapes the content and meaning of this liturgical rite: the event's heortology is firmly embedded in the liturgical celebration, so the unfolding of the blessing of waters can be interpreted as a manifestation of God's ongoing activity inaugurated by his prior activity in the world which continues for the benefit of the participants in this event. The next chapter will continue the analysis by examining the epiclesis of the "Great are You" Prayer in the liturgical context of the rite, culminating with the plunging of the cross into the water and the rite's concluding activities, to specify the blessings granted in the celebration and their ramifications for participants.

Chapter 8
Epiclesis and the Gift of the Holy Spirit

Introduction

The previous chapter elaborated the theology of the blessing of waters by presenting core themes from the "Great are You" prayer and articulating them in a broader liturgical context. I identified the following core themes from the "Great are You" prayer: a distinctly Christological trajectory, with the assembly addressing Christ as the author of the liturgical event and numerous allusions to Baptism; the manifestation of the Trinity complementing Christology, with each person occupying a specific role based on the Gospel story; and, creation and angelic worship as illustrations of the occasion's solemnity in heaven and on earth. I will now analyze D-2 and D-4 of the "Great are You" prayer to continue this study of the theology of the blessing of waters.

The analysis of "Great are You" in Chapter Six demonstrated that D-1 and the first part of D-2 occur in both the Epiphany and baptismal blessing of waters while D-3 and D-4 are independent compositions in the Epiphany rite. The texts actually begin to diverge in the final sentence of D-2. The last chapter concluded that the liturgical context of the blessing of waters convincingly suggests that the Church addresses Christ as the author of the divine activity at the liturgy. In this chapter, I employ the same method of drawing upon the complementary components of the liturgical context to define and analyze the ideas expressed by D-2 and D-4. This methodological application is particularly significant for the epicletic texts. Some analysts, commenting on the epiclesis of the Eucharistic prayer, argue that an epiclesis is not merely one component among many. They assert that the entire prayer is an epiclesis, reaching its culminating point in a text identified as a consecratory epiclesis.[1]

In his study of the history and interpretation of the Eucharistic epiclesis, John McKenna categorized the various types of "epiclesis," such as "Logos epiclesis," "Spirit epiclesis," "consecratory epiclesis," and "epiclesis proper," among others.[2] In this study, "epiclesis" means "epiclesis proper" (D-2), defined by McKenna (in a Eucharistic context) as "an epiclesis which appeals for the Holy Spirit

---

[1] See McKenna, pp. 110–16; Y. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit,* vol. 3, trans. David Smith, pp. 228–9; Alexander Schmemann, *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom*, trans. Paul Kachur (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1988), pp. 159–64.

[2] McKenna, p. 9. He also includes "EPICLESIS" as the notion of the whole anaphora as epiclesis, and "epiclesis of sanctification" which "appeals for the sanctification of the bread and wine and/or the faithful."

(occasionally, the Logos) to transform or sanctify the bread and wine and/or to sanctify the faithful who partake of these gifts."[3] The epiclesis of the blessing of waters (D-2) appeals to Christ to come forward by the descent of the Holy Spirit and sanctify the waters and the participants who use the water. This analysis will consider the implications of this appeal to illustrate the relationships between the two anamnetic sections (D-1 and D-3) with the epiclesis (D-2 and D-4). It will then articulate the meaning of the entire celebration by analyzing God's activity in the blessings sought. The analysis will reveal that the blessing of waters requests that God sanctify the participants, deliver them from evil, cleanse them of bodily and spiritual deficiencies, remove sin, and grant them a share of the divine life of the Trinity through the communion of the Holy Spirit.

Theological Analysis of "Great are You": Epiclesis

The epiclesis (D-2) of "Great are You" begins with an invocation addressing the king who loves humankind ("φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ"). The incipit of the epiclesis contributes nothing concrete that assists in identifying the addressee of the prayer. The word "φιλάνθρωπος" has been used in the history of theological literature to describe God's love for humanity, from both the Father and Christ.[4] Its liturgical context here strongly suggests that Christ is addressed, because the term is used in other liturgical components of the blessing of waters. One such instance is the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," which completes the ektene/synapte; it refers to Christ as the "master who loves humankind."[5] Another example is a Troparion sung during the Vesperal Liturgy in TGC, which ends by referring to Christ as the one who loves mankind.[6] In the "Great are You" prayer, this reference to the "king who loves humankind" immediately follows the Christological emphasis in D-1, specifically its recollection of Christ's sanctification of both the virginal womb and the Jordan. The epiclesis (D-2) evokes the memory of Christ's paradigmatic descent into the Jordan remembered in the feast. The request to "come forward" by the descent of the Holy Spirit clearly addresses Christ, consistent with the trajectory of the water blessing's liturgical context. Christ's sanctification of the Jordan in the historical Theophany event, evoked in D-1, is crucial to this interpretation of the epiclesis.[7] As it concludes, D-1 flows into the epiclesis by recalling Christ's entrance into the Jordan. The epiclesis continues the Christological conclusion of

---

[3] Ibid.

[4] *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), s.v. "φιλάνθρωπος" and "φιλανθρωπία."

[5] "φιλάνρωπε δέσποτα," Appendix B.

[6] "Glory to you who loves mankind," TGC, p. 176, translation from *The Festal Menaion*, p. 340.

[7] "You have sanctified the streams of Jordan, sending down from on high the most Holy Spirit," translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 356; "σὺ καὶ ἰορδάνεια ρεῖθρα ἡγίασας, οὐρανόθεν καταπέμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα," BAR no. 131 (Appendix D-1).

D-1 by asking Christ to sanctify the waters now as he did in history. The epiclesis in the "Great are You" prayer of the Coptic rite punctuates this Christological liturgical emphasis by explicating Christ as the one who sanctifies the waters: "Thou, also now, our Master, Lover of Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, come, also now, through the descent of Thy Holy Spirit upon them."[8]

The epiclesis also defines the role of the Holy Spirit in making Christ present in the waters by descending ("ἐπιφοίτησις"). Historically, "ἐπιφοίτησις" has applied to the coming and presence of Christ, and also to the visitation of the Holy Spirit, especially in reference to sacraments like Chrismation and ordination.[9] The epiclesis (D-2) requests that Christ "come forward now as then" ("πάρεσο καὶ νῦν"), which refers to Christ's entrance into the waters of the Jordan, and provides the differentiating factor in determining the addressee of the invocation. Christ is invoked by the petition to come forward and his Holy Spirit manifests Christ's presence by descending. In D-2, the descent of the Holy Spirit recalls Christ's historical sanctification of the Jordan, and petitions Christ to sanctify the waters again. The epiclesis thus underscores the harmonic activity of Christ and the Spirit by employing the appellation "his" in addressing Christ to come forward.[10]

There is no direct reference to the Father in D-2, but the biblical paradigms that follow in D-3 refer to historical events, mostly from the Old Testament. These allusions are difficult to interpret, as they can refer to the divine initiative of either the Father or the Son. Their ambiguity allows one to interpret the prayer as indirectly invoking the Father to initiate the actions of blessing. The allusions to Old Testament paradigms also demonstrate the activity of the Father in acts of divine salvation. The Father is not absent from the Church's prayer, nor is he explicitly invoked, and this could be due to the assumption that Christ is never separated from his Father. The unicity of this prayer's language occurs in the connection between events in which Christ acted and petitions for him to act again. Thus, the blessing of waters emphasizes invoking Christ while perhaps assuming the Father's divine authorship of all salvation. The prayer's freedom in addressing Christ to initiate saving activity today is particularly noteworthy.

This conclusion on the epiclesis of the blessing of waters as Christological provides an opportunity to reflect on the place of the epiclesis in the larger Christian liturgical tradition. The previous chapter's analysis of D-1 and D-3 demonstrated the pre-eminence of the tendency of the Epiphany euchology to address Christ and petition him to initiate divine activity. The analysis highlighted the unicity of this liturgical model wherein the Church speaks to Christ and asks him to act, distinct from the notion of liturgy as an anamnesis of salvation history in Christ, assuring Christ's active presence in the Church. Each epiclesis is an invocation rooted in an anamnesis of past activity, with the hope that the present divine activity will

---

[8] Burmester, p. 254 and Budge, p. 131.

[9] *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, s.v. "ἐπιφοίτησις."

[10] See Vidalis's argument on Christ as the designated addressee of the epiclesis in pp. 253–5.

deliver the same type of salvific blessings. In the case of this epiclesis, I maintain that it is consecratory, even though Christ is the one who comes and enters the waters. The root story of the occasion, Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, testifies to the Father as witness and the Spirit as the one who manifests Christ. This festal anamnesis also explains why Christ is the one who consecrates, as opposed to the Spirit. The dynamic between anamnesis and epiclesis is particularly acute in the blessing of waters because of the bodily contact Christ had with the waters, as reported by the evangelical narrative. Sebastian Brock explains why, in the Syrian tradition, this festal anamnesis reveals Christ as the one who sanctifies, and not the Spirit, because in the story, the Spirit appeared after the Baptism as a witness, along with the voice of the Father.[11] The evidence suggests that the epiclesis of the blessing of waters depends on the festal anamnesis of Christ's entrance into the Jordan. The similarity of the epiclesis for the water blessing among the Eastern liturgies most likely represents an older stratum of epiclesis less influenced by the need for an explicitly pneumatic consecration, and all of the Eastern liturgies, including the Byzantine, retain the older Christological model. In conclusion, the liturgical model of petitioning Christ to initiate divine activity and sanctify the waters with the Father and the Spirit witnessing could provide another perspective on the perichoretic operation and activity of the Holy Trinity. Christian groups interested in engaging one another in ecumenical dialogue on this issue will find the liturgical model of divine activity presented here to be a welcome new source for study.

Spiritual Gifts

After invoking Christ to sanctify the water, the "Great are You" prayer delineates the spiritual gifts to be granted to the participants, namely the grace of redemption and the blessing of the Jordan. The prayer continues by requesting that Christ make the water "a spring of blessing, a gift of sanctification, a remission of sins, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength."[12] Because this portion of the Epiphany epiclesis is identical to its baptismal relative, the gifts requested from Christ here and in Baptism are also the same. They include redemption, freedom from the slavery of sin; spiritual growth towards holiness through the gift of sanctification; the removal of sin; a source for the healing of bodily illnesses; and protection from evil forces, bolstered by angelic activity. All of these gifts can be summarized as evoking an

[11] "Whereas in Christian baptism it is the epiclesis of the Holy Spirit which effects the consecration of the water (seen in terms of its becoming, in sacred time, the Jordan water), at Christ's own baptism the role of the Holy Spirit is not a consecratory one, as Jacob stresses on many occasions, pointing out that the Holy Spirit appeared only after the baptism; the role of the Spirit was simply 'to bear witness' along with the voice of the Father," in Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," p. 327.

[12] English translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

image of the growth of participants into the likeness of Christ, people who mature towards fulfillment in becoming the human beings God created them to be.

The next portion of the prayer particular to the Epiphany version (the baptismal version diverges into an exorcistic section) describes the way the participants use the sanctified water, and the additional benefits they hope to receive: "that all who draw from it and partake of it may have it for the purification of souls and bodies, for the healing of passions, for the sanctification of homes, and for every expedient purpose."[13] The participles "ἀρυόμενοι" and "μεταλαμβάνοντες" define the use of the water: the participants draw from the water, and partake of it. The reference to the drawing of the water is supported by the ancient practice of taking the sanctified water from the Church, and storing it at home for later use. "Μεταλαμβάνω" is synonymous with drinking, but it also connotes reception, and can be interpreted as a privilege of receiving a share in something that is given.[14] In its formulary for the anaphora of John Chrysostom, immediately following the consecration of the gifts, BAR (eighth century) uses the same term to describe participants: "That they may be the healing of soul for those who partake of it."[15] Partaking of the Eucharist entails eating and drinking, but also includes the notion of reception.[16] The use of this participle to describe the manner of participation underscores the notion of receiving blessings from God by drinking the water.

The blessings received from drawing and partaking correspond to those received at Baptism. Participants use the water for growth in the spiritual life, leading to the rejection of sin, which explains the language of the healing of passions and purification of soul and body. Divine activity penetrates into participants' homes, as the water is used to sanctify daily life, and has the versatility to be used for expedient purposes. The originality of the Epiphany version of D-2 occurs in its definition of the use of the water, as its description elaborates the meaning of the gifts granted by Christ.

This last section of D-2, referring to Christ's sanctification of the water by his Holy Spirit, requests further spiritual benefits: "grant to those who touch it, partake of it, and are anointed with it sanctification, blessing, purification, and health."[17] Like the preceding portion of this section, its use of participles articulates the spiritual significance of the event: "ἁπτομένοις," or those who touch the water; "τοῖς τε μεταλαμβάνουσιν," repeating the notion of receiving and partaking of

---

[13] See BAR no. 131, Appendix D-2. Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

[14] See *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, s.v. "μεταλαμβάνω." Lampe's definitions include participation, partaking of food, and a reference to receiving Baptism.

[15] BAR no. 35.7.

[16] See Robert Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), pp. 105–8, for more on an earlier emphasis on receiving communion as a gift in the Byzantine tradition.

[17] BAR no. 131. Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

a gift; and "τοῖς τε κεχρημένοις," or those who are anointed by the water.[18] The Byzantine Euchologia do not specifically prescribe the performance of any of these actions, though BAR, *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (tenth century), and *Sinai 973* (twelfth century) mention the sprinkling of the people towards the conclusion of the blessing of waters. In the prayer's structure, D-4's function is to repeat the request for spiritual gifts mentioned by D-2: sanctification, blessing, purification, and health. The most significant contribution of the final portion of D-2 comes from its references to touching, partaking, and anointing. These explicit forms of participation are particular to the blessing of waters, and different from the actions of the rites of Baptism.

Based on a theological synthesis of the prayer, one can claim that the assembly petitions Christ to grant them spiritual blessings organized into the following categories: deliverance and protection from sin and evil spirits, healing of bodily illnesses and spiritual maladies, continuing growth in holiness, and sanctification. The prayer's participles define the activities leading to blessings: anointing and touching the water provides protection and cleansing, and partaking of the water allows one to receive sanctification. Perhaps most significantly, the Epiphany epiclesis shares the vision of spiritual development articulated by its baptismal relative. The Epiphany sections at the end of D-2 and D-4 elaborate on the common portion of D-2, and do not thematically diverge from the themes established by the shared portion of D-2. Like Baptism, D-2 and D-4 describe the blessings of Theophany event as the sanctification of humankind.

Analysis of Epicletic Blessings: Baptism and Deliverance from Sin

The epiclesis (D-2) requests the healing of passions ("ἰατρείαν παθῶν") and purification. Byzantine Baptism also requests regeneration for baptizands. The texts and themes of the Epiphany blessing and Baptism frequently intersect, and one could argue that participants seek the same spiritual blessings from both. An examination of the Epiphany blessing's liturgical context identifies the relationship of the blessing of waters with Baptism and elucidates the nature of the blessing of deliverance from sin.

The participles employed by several petitions from the ektene/synapte connect the actions of touching, drinking, and anointing of the water with bodily and spiritual purification. The petitions highlighting deliverance from sin require further elucidation, as they do not incorporate the text of D-2. A variety of litanic petitions testifies to the presence of strong baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The following petitions from the ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* explicitly refer to the rites of Baptism:

---

[18] *The Festal Menaion* translates this phrase as "those who anoint themselves with it" (p. 357).

> That those who receive Baptism in it would become children of the light, we pray to you. That they would be clothed in divine power with the oil of chrism against enemies, we pray. That those who receive Baptism in it would be as the stars in heaven, we pray to you. [19]

References to children of light ("τέκνα φωτὸς") and being clothed in power with the oil of chrism ("ἐνδύσασθαι δύναμιν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως") clearly pertain to participation in the rites of Baptism and seem to have little in common with the Epiphany blessing of waters. Like *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, the ektene of *Sinai 991* (fourteenth century) contains two petitions that directly allude to Baptism: "That those who receive Baptism in it would be as the lights…" and "for those who are preparing for holy Baptism and for the protection of God, and for their assistance, we pray."[20]

Byzantine Euchologia from Stages One and Two contain phrases from D-2 as illustrated by *Sinai 959* (eleventh century): "That it would be for the redemption of sins, cleansing…"[21] *Sinai 962* (eleventh–twelfth centuries) also includes the language of D-2 in a petition: "That they would be to them a gift of sanctification, the healing of diseases…"[22] *Sinai 971* (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) contains a concluding petition that summarizes D-2: "That the Lord God would hear the voice of our prayers and reveal these waters as a gift of sanctification, redemption of sins, protection from diseases."[23] That the petitions include themes from both the baptismal and Epiphany portions of D-2 emphasizes the relationship between Baptism and Epiphany in the Epiphany blessing of waters.

Sinai 973 (twelfth century) contains two petitions that elaborate deliverance from sin and the adhesion of participants to the life in Christ: "That the Holy Spirit would come upon us, and that the handwriting of sins would be completely healed, and that we would be blessed through the flowing of the Jordan, let us pray," and "that the Lord God would dwell and walk in our hearts, and have mercy on us."[24] The first petition reveals the manifold quality of the gift of the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit's descent upon the assembly provides spiritual healing for the remission of sins, uniquely expressed by the metaphor of "handwriting" ("τὸ χειρόγραφον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν"). Christ's abiding presence among his people in their hearts is the second petition's theme. These petitions occur only in *Sinai 973*, which limits their historical significance.

One petition from the synapte of *Athos Kostamonitos 60* (sixteenth century) connects the remission of sins to Christ's adoption of neophytes as sons: "You

---

19 Passarelli, no. 155.

20 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 330. *Sinai 974* also contains the first petition, which is a variant of the older version in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (Passarelli, no. 155).

21 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 44.

22 Ibid., p. 64.

23 Ibid., p. 250.

24 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 90.

who loosed the sentence of primeval sin, and were gracious to us of old [by] adopting [us] as sons…"[25] Because the petition does not explicate the context of the remission of sins, one cannot assume that it implies Christ's baptism in the Jordan, even if it is the theme of the occasion. Most importantly, it integrates deliverance from sin into the collection of themes expressed by the blessing of waters. The petition's lone occurrence in *Athos Kostamonitos 60* underscores its unicity. Like the petitions from *Sinai 973*, it appears to represent a theological emphasis of a particular community.

The frequent references to Baptism in the blessing of waters on Epiphany warrant analysis. TGC (ninth–tenth centuries) refers to preparations for the celebration of baptisms on January 6, with the patriarch baptizing neophytes during Orthros and returning to the Church for the Eucharistic liturgy. TGC thus demonstrates a historical relationship between Epiphany and the celebration of baptisms and helps explain the presence of baptismal petitions in the blessing of waters on Epiphany of select Byzantine Euchologia. The Epiphany feast was an occasion for celebrating both baptisms, and the blessing of waters on Epiphany, and the liturgy anterior to the eighth century might have included prayers for the water to be used for both purposes. The most likely scenario is that the baptismal petitions surviving in earlier Byzantine Euchologia such as *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Sinai 991*, and *Sinai 974* survived in some liturgical manuscripts of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. At some point, the explicitly baptismal petitions became unnecessary, and were omitted from practice, as Baptism was not always celebrated as a part of the feast, especially during the period of liturgical monasticization of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. As the monastic rite gained more authority and influence, the liturgy emphasized the blessings the sanctified water imparts to those already baptized. The shared theological and liturgical origins of Baptism and the blessing of waters on Epiphany eased the shift towards an emphasis on blessing water for the faithful. The liturgical evidence presented here represents this shift, and also confirms the theological connection between Baptism and Epiphany.

Evidence from select verses of the Prologue's poetic "todays" further illustrates the presence of baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters on Epiphany. BAR contains several verses that express baptismal themes:

> (C-11) Today we have been delivered from darkness and we are being illuminated with the light of the knowledge of God;
> (C-12) Today the master reforms the archetype through the regeneration of the image;
> (C-14) Today the errors of men are wiped away by the waters of Jordan;
> (C-16) Today paradise has been opened for men, and righteous people congregate with us;

[25] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 850.

(C-17) Today we have been released from our ancient lamentation, and as the new Israel we have been saved;
(C-18) Today we have cast off the old garments of sin and have been clothed in the vesture of incorruption.[26]

Verse C-11 refers to the illumination of those who had been in darkness. Creation of a new human being through the perfection of the image constitutes the complex theological theme expressed by verse C-12, employing the term "παλιγγενεσίας" from Titus 3:5. Verse C-14 mentions the removal of error by the waters of the Jordan, an allusion to either baptismal washing, participation in the sanctification of the waters, or both. An ecclesiological theme is expressed by verse C-16, connected to the lamentation of Israel's estate prior to Christ's advent. Verse C-18 offers a rich baptismal theme in its reference to the removal of a garment stained by sin and the putting-on of a new vesture of incorruption.

BAR's language can be characterized as intentionally allusional, with no direct references to an action or event. The themes of these verses pertain to Epiphany as much as Baptism. The language of wiping away errors through the waters of the Jordan does not refer to a specific action, and can thus be attributed to either Baptism or Epiphany. These select verses from BAR's Prologue express strong baptismal themes, especially the notion of the removal of sin, the regeneration of the person, and the gift of the restoration of paradise, indicating the blessing of waters on Epiphany as an intersection of baptismal and festal ideas.

Many of the same verses appear in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (tenth century) and *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* (twelfth century), and also sporadically in *Codex Athens National Library 663* (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries).[27] The texts of many verses slightly differ from one Euchologion to another, indicating a common original source for the poetic "todays." Editors of the respective sources either modified the text, or received a text previously changed through a specific line of historical development.[28] Additional verses expanding the baptismal theme are comprised by select Euchologia, including the following from *Grottaferrata Gb VII*:

---

[26] BAR no. 130.2. See Appendix C.

[27] Passarelli, no. 157; Conybeare, pp. 432–3; Trempelas, pp. 40–44.

[28] The Euchologia contain many such examples, including the following verse from *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, which differs from the final verse of BAR: "Today we who were clothed in the ancient garment of sin are clothed in heavenly garments." The following verse from *Codex Athens National Library 663* constitutes a modification of verse C-11: "Today we have been delivered from darkness and illuminated with the knowledge of God, and the race of humanity is freed from slavery of the impiety of idolatry" (Trempelas, p. 42). *Codex Athens National Library 663* also contains a notable variant of BAR's fifth verse (highlighted in bold): "Today we have been released from our ancient lamentation, and as the new **Jerusalem** we have been saved **and we who are being deified are being clothed in the new vesture of incorruption**" (Trempelas, p. 41).

1. Today the prophetic hand lays upon the flame of the head, to clothe us in the bath of incorruption;
2. Today the errors of men are wiped out by the waters of the Jordan;
3. Today the evil of the idols flees and the redeemed race of men is liberated from sin;
4. Today a marvelous wonder is at hand as the master grants new birth to us through water.[29]

Verse 1 refers to Christ's baptism as granting the privilege of the clothing of incorruption to those who partake of its bath. Verse 2 echoes the theme of the removal of errors by the waters of the Jordan, and Verse 3 expresses a similar theme. Verse 4 reflects on the wonder of the master's granting the gift of second birth to the assembly. These themes taken from *Grottaferrata Gb VII* are independent from BAR, and like BAR, could be interpreted as applying to both Baptism and Epiphany. The themes of being clothed in incorruption ("τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἡμᾶς ἀμφιάσῃ"), the removal of errors and sin through bathing ("τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας λυτρούμενον παρρησιάζεται"), and rebirth through water ("δι᾽ ὕδατος ἀναγέννησιν") are baptismal, again indicating an intersection with the blessing of waters on Epiphany. As with BAR, some of the verses from *Grottaferrata Gb VII* were modified at some point in their historical distribution, represented by the appending of an entirely new theme for the following verse in *Codex Athens National Library 663* (the bracketed texts illustrate the surrounding context of the modified text; the bold text represents the portions identical to *Grottaferrata Gb VII;* the *italicized* text represents the modified portion):

Table 8.1 Example of Evolution of Poetic "Todays"

Grottaferrata Gb VII[30]	**Codex Athens National Library 663**[31]
Σήμερον προφητικὴ χεὶρ κορυφῆς φλογὸς ἐφάπτεται…	[Σήμερον τὸ Πνεύμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος κατέρχεται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ὑμνεῖ τὸν ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην.] Καὶ νῦν **προφητικὴ χεὶρ κορυφῆς** *πυριφλέκτου* **ἐφάπτεται**, *ἵνα τὸν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς βυθίσῃ δράκοντα.* [Σήμερον ὁ ἄναρχος τῷ ἰδίῳ ἱκέτῃ αὐχένα ὑποκλίνει,] **ἵνα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ το λουτρὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἡμᾶς ἀμφιάσῃ**.
…ἵνα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ το λουτρὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἡμᾶς ἀμφιάσῃ.	

The poetic verses are completely repositioned in *Codex Athens National Library 663.* In the first part of the verse, the laying on of hands is performed in order to remove evil spirits (exemplified by dragons) from participants, an interpolation of an exorcistic motif. The second verse simply appends the granting

29 Passarelli, no. 157.

30 Passarelli, no. 157.

31 Trempelas, p. 41.

of the gift of incorruption to a verse expressing the condescension of God, the creator without beginning, inclining his head to receive Baptism for the remission of sins. The above example illustrates the repositioning of text and free mixture of themes within the corpus of poetic "todays" in the Prologue. This example confirms the characterization of the poetic "todays" as a body of imaginative poetry expressing multiple themes.

The Prologue of the Armenian rite in *San Lazaro 457* (ninth century) shares the baptismal emphasis of BAR and related Byzantine Euchologia. The Prologue of *San Lazaro 457* contains variants of C-14 and C-17 from BAR (above).[32] Three verses from this Prologue expand the baptismal motif in the Armenian blessing of waters on Epiphany:

> (34) Today we have been rescued from the fleshless Amalek, and from the bitterness of his venom, through the baptism of the Saviour.
> (41) Today was taken away the transgression of Adam, and the curse of Eve was loosed, and the transgressions of mankind expiated.
> (50) Today the sins and transgressions of the race of Adam are blotted out in the water of Jordan, and earth's face is renewed at the appearing of our God.[33]

The poetic "todays" from the Armenian rite cohere with the Byzantine baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters on Epiphany, and expand the theological roots of Baptism. The two references to the wiping away of Adam's transgression anticipate the delivery of the same salvation to participants in the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The deliverance from Amalek recalls God's victory over Amalek in Exodus 17, and functions as another instance of interpreting the current event of blessing water as a continuation of God's salvation of humanity. Thus, the Armenian rite confirms and advances the baptismal motifs introduced by BAR and the other Byzantine Euchologia.

The poetic "todays" distributed throughout the prologues of the various liturgical sources express significant baptismal motifs, namely the removal of sin through the waters of the Jordan, the gift of the restoration of paradise to participants, and the granting of incorruption and regeneration to the baptized, with allusions to the imagery of clothing included. All the themes are based on Christ's baptism in the Jordan, with stark allusions to his entrance into the water. In conclusion, the poetic "todays" of the Prologue articulate baptismal themes in Stages One and Three of the blessing of waters on Epiphany and are primarily represented by BAR, *San Lazaro 457*, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Codex Athens National Library 663*, and *Sinai 974.*

The most prominent expression of baptismal themes occurs in the Alleluia, psalms, and Troparia chanted during the plunging of the cross into the waters

---

[32] "Today the transgressions of men are blotted out in the water of Jordan (no. 25). Today we have emerged from our old sorrows, and as the new Israel have been renewed (no. 32)," Conybeare, pp. 172–3.

[33] Conybeare, pp. 173–4.

in *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974*.[34] The final Troparion of this Alleluia unit refers to Baptism, expressing the imagery of "slaves of sin" being immersed into the water, and coming up as children of incorruption, having been clothed in Christ. *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X* contain the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," with no references to the singing of Alleluia or intercalated psalm verses. The Troparion is particular to the blessing of waters on Epiphany, as it is sung only for this celebration and is not prescribed for the rite of Baptism. *Sinai 991* and *Sinai 974* contain no rubrics or comments mentioning the celebration of Baptism in the context of the Epiphany blessing. "Great is the Cross that Shined" also makes the most prominent reference to the cross, a rare occurrence in the texts of the blessing of waters on Epiphany.[35]

In conclusion, "Great is the Cross that Shined" provides the most plausible explanation for the intersection of baptismal and Epiphany themes in the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The Troparion indicates the celebration of baptisms celebrated on the Epiphany feast at some point in its history. TGC confirms the celebration of Baptism on Epiphany, and the numerous baptismal petitions from ektene/synapte of the blessing of waters in Byzantine Euchologia indicate baptismal celebrations coinciding with the feast. Collectively, baptismal themes in the ektene/synapte, Prologues, and the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" constitute an instance of Baumstark's ninth law of liturgical evolution: "primitive conditions are maintained with greater tenacity in the more sacred seasons of the liturgical year."[36] A resurgence of baptismal components occurred in Stage Three of the liturgy's history because the Epiphany blessing was such an important event in the life of the Church, and it is possible the *Sinai 974* and *Sinai 991* were used by communities on the periphery of the Byzantine Commonwealth that resisted liturgical evolution and maintained their inherited tradition.[37] The evidence allows one to conclude that baptismal motifs are inexorably associated with Epiphany and embedded in the celebration of the blessing of waters on Epiphany throughout its history.

---

[34] "Great is the cross that shined in the pool: slaves of sin are going down and coming up children of incorruption, receiving a second light and having been clothed in Christ, the pearl," from Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 330–31, 682–3.

[35] The identification of Christ as the pearl also has possibilities in comparative liturgy. Brock notes that Jacob Serugh describes Adam as the lost pearl Christ is seeking to recover when he descends into the waters, but the Byzantine liturgical text refers to Christ as the pearl, possibly as the image of redeemed humanity recovered from the deadly waters. See Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," pp. 328–9.

[36] Baumstark, p. 27. Also see Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," pp. 200, 206–8.

[37] See Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," law no. 18, pp. 214–15.

The Holy Spirit in the Liturgical Context

Several components from the liturgical context of the blessing of waters on Epiphany explain the activity of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy. BAR's Epiphany ektene is one of the earliest sources to produce epicletic allusions consonant with the "epiclesis-blessings" of D-2. In BAR's ektene, a series of petitions similar to a synapte follow the nine anamnetic petitions based on Old Testament kernels. The second of these (12) provides the most pertinent text: "That these waters would be blessed by the descent and power and operation of the Holy Spirit, we pray."[38] Like the epiclesis, this petition from the ektene refers to the descent ("ἐπιφοιτήσει") of the Holy Spirit, and also refers to the result as the blessing ("εὐλογηθῆναι") of the waters, rather than their sanctification. This petition is nearly ubiquitous throughout the Byzantine Euchologia consulted for this study.

BAR's baptismal synapte contains essentially the same petition: "That these waters would be blessed by the descent of the Holy Spirit, let us pray to the Lord."[39] Only the adjectives describing the work of the Holy Spirit ("δυνάμει" and "ἐνεργείᾳ") are missing from the baptismal version. BAR's baptismal synapte also includes a petition that alludes to the sanctification of the waters: "That these waters would be sanctified by the descent and operation of the Holy Spirit, let us pray to the Lord."[40] BAR's inclusion of both petitions in its baptismal synapte indicates fluidity in the exchange of terms ("εὐλογηθῆναι" and "ἁγιασθῆναι") describing divine activity in the water. It could also suggest the incorporation of baptismal elements into the blessing of waters on Epiphany. BAR's ektene opens with eight anamnetic petitions, and then proceeds to five consecratory demands with specific intentions. The petitions from BAR's baptismal synapte are similar in style to the five consecratory petitions in the Epiphany ektene.

The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains the same epicletic petition as BAR, the only differences being an exchange and rearrangement of terms: "That these waters would be sanctified by the descent and operation and power of the Holy Spirit, we pray to You, hear us."[41] Given the interchangeability of terms in BAR's baptismal synapte, the rearrangement and exchange of terms in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* is not alarming. Variants of this petition are also found in the synapte of *Sinai 957* (ninth–tenth century), *Paris Coislin 213* (eleventh century) and *Bessarion* (thirteenth century), and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* (sixteenth century), testifying to its longevity and consistency in the Byzantine Euchologia. The petition employs the same language as the epiclesis, demonstrating references to the epiclesis throughout the rite's liturgical context.

---

[38] See Appendix A for all petitions.

[39] BAR no. 120.7.

[40] BAR no. 120.5.

[41] Passarelli, no. 155. See also Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 7, 851, and Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano*, p. 198.

Other petitions from the ektene and synapte further elaborate the Spirit's role in the blessing of waters. The following petition from the synapte of *Sinai 959* (eleventh century) employs a poetic motif in describing the transformation of the water: "That the Lord God would send his Holy Spirit upon us and sweeten these running waters as honey gushing from rocks unto the relief for those who partake of them, let us pray to the Lord."[42] The petition echoes the blessings articulated by the epiclesis, since it refers to partaking of the waters and their transformation into something pleasant, resulting in relief. More significant is the first part of the petition, which alludes to a direct epiclesis on the participants ("that the Lord God would send down (καταπέμψαι) upon us his Holy Spirit"), an idea independent of the text of the epiclesis itself. This reference to a direct epiclesis on the participants underscores the liturgy's anticipation of God's imparting the gift of sanctification to participants.

One of the final petitions from BAR's ektene appears to address Christ directly, revealing the intent of the entire litany to address Christ: "Save us, our God, by your epiphany, and hear us, we entreat you."[43] This petition usually occurs at the end of a synapte, but the reference to the epiphany event appears to have been deliberately inserted and is unusual. Mentioning Christ's epiphany creates a link to the historical event and incorporates the festal commemoration into the petition. The same petition in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* modifies the text so that Christ is overtly addressed: "Save us, Christ our God…"[44] The Byzantine Euchologia containing this final petition confirm the intent to address Christ as the author of the event.

Like the ektene/synapte, the Prologue also contains verses that express epicletic allusions. The first verse in BAR's series of "todays" sets forth the consecratory role of the Holy Spirit: "Today the grace of the Holy Spirit, sanctifying these waters, appears to these."[45] The positioning of this verse at the beginning of the series of "todays" reflects its prominence, as the grace of the Holy Spirit sanctifies the waters. It always has the first position in the series of poetic "todays" in the

---

[42] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 44.

[43] BAR no. 127.17.

[44] Passarelli, no. 155. Also see *Grattaferrata Gb X* (Conybeare, p. 424), and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 851).

[45] "Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἁγιάζουσα τὰ ὕδατα τούτοις ἐπιφαίνεται," in BAR no. 130.2a (Appendix C-1). BAR's first poetic "today" is found in the Prologues of numerous Euchologia, with some variation, indicating its modification by the hands of editors throughout the office's history. See, for example, *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (Passarelli, no. 157): "Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἁγιάζουσα τὰ ὕδατα," either an abbreviation of BAR's version, or BAR's editor may have appended "ἐπιφαίνεται" at the end of the verse originating from a common source. *Sinai 961* also offers an interesting variant: "Σήμερον γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐπιφαίνεται" (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 75), an allusion to the Gospel account of the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove ("ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς") without directly mentioning the sanctification of the waters.

Byzantine Euchologia containing Prologues for the blessing of waters.[46] Unlike the ektene/synapte examples, it does not employ the same language as the epiclesis. That said, it articulates a similar idea on the operation of the Holy Spirit. No other verses from BAR's poetic "todays" contain an epicletic expression.

The following verses from the poetic "todays" of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* elaborate the role of the Spirit and the meaning of the epiclesis:

1. Today the springs of the waters are sanctified by Christ, who is gloriously manifested in the river Jordan.
2. Today the bitter waters of the sea are changed into sweet by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit.
3. Today the trouble of the world is purified by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit.[47]

In verse 1, Christ's manifestation in the waters at his Baptism coincides with the historical sanctification of the Jordan at the original event. By recalling Christ's sanctifying the Jordan and manifestation as the son of God, Verse 1 anticipates that Christ will again sanctify the waters at the liturgical event. Verses 2 and 3 function similarly, recalling the Holy Spirit's manifestation of Christ at the waters and looking ahead to Christ's appearance by the Spirit at the present liturgy. The transformation of the bitter waters into sweet in verse 2 alludes to partaking of the water, and the sanctification of the cosmos as well as humanity. One can interpret these verses as imaginative implications of the epiclesis, a poetic reflection on an anticipated action. The poetry has both anamnetic and epicletic components by recalling God's work in history and anticipating his blessing at the sanctification of the waters. As elsewhere, the story underpinning the feast provides the source material.

Additional verses of the Euchologia further elucidate the meaning of the liturgical event. The following verse from *Sinai 974* (sixteenth century) refers to the paradigm of Christ's original entrance into the water: "Today the Redeemer has come into the Jordan in order to sanctify all things."[48] In this verse, the waters are not the focus of the sanctification, but "all things" ("τὰ σύμπαντα") are sanctified by Christ himself, "the Redeemer." Like the other verses, this verse echoes the epiclesis and refers not only to the blessing of the waters, but envisions the implications of Christ's appearance in the transformation of everything.

---

[46] The first verse in the Armenian *San Lazaro 457* is pneumatic, but more elaborate than its Byzantine counterpart: "For today is the divine and holy, heavenly and precious festival. And the emanation of the divine light of the Holy Spirit shoots with brilliant rays into the world; and hallows today the waters, and enlightens men and makes them heavenly beings," in Conybeare, p. 169.

[47] Passarelli, no. 157. The same verses occur in *Sinai 974* (Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 681–2). These poetic verses do not constitute the entirety of the series of "todays" in *Grottaferrata Gb VII,* but were rather selected because of their pertinence to the issue.

[48] Dmitrievsky-II, p. 682. See also *Codex Athens National library 663* (Trempelas, p. 42).

A verse from the Prologue "Glory to You, Christ," occurring only in *Grottaferrata Gb X* (tenth–eleventh centuries) and *Sinai 974* (sixteenth century), refers to the descent of the Holy Spirit as a function of preparing the celebrant to preside worthily at the liturgical rite: "by the descent of your Holy Spirit … we … impose commands on evil and impure demons."[49] In the case of this preparatory prayer, the celebrant does not anticipate the descent of the Holy Spirit on the waters, though that is part of the anamnesis leading up to the petition to send the Spirit.[50] The prayer reflects the language of the rite by invoking Christ to send the Spirit so that the celebrant would have the grace to cast out unclean spirits. Thus, the language and style of "Glory to You, Christ" is consistent with the pattern established by the epiclesis, as the prayer addresses Christ and requests grace from him through the descent of the Holy Spirit.

The poetic "todays" from the Prologue reflect the collective imagination of multiple authors over the course of several centuries, and many Euchologia seem to have embraced verses from different sources without organizing them in a particular order. The difference between BAR's brief order and the appending of several additional verses in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* convincingly demonstrates this. Like the ektene/synapte, the excerpts from the Prologue cited here support the themes of the epiclesis, using similar language to illustrate the transformation of humanity and creation through the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the waters, and recalling Christ's entrance into the Jordan as the source of the sanctification of all things. These select verses support the thesis expressed by the epiclesis, that Christ is the initiator of the sanctification of the waters due to his historical entrance into the Jordan, and sends his Holy Spirit to transform them for the benefit of humankind. The divine work extends to the entire universe, as everything is sanctified by Christ's descent into the Jordan.

Analysis of Epicletic Blessings: Exorcistic Motifs in the Ektene/Synapte

In preparation for receiving sanctification, the Church requests deliverance from evil through the epiclesis. The last line of D-1 attributes the destructions of the heads of the dragons in the Jordan to Christ, as a result of his sanctification of the waters by the sending down of his Holy Spirit from above.[51] The review of the epiclesis above notes that the Epiphany version separates from its baptismal relative as the latter proceeds to an exorcism, the removal of evil spirits from the waters. Yet the theme of protection from evil spirits recurs throughout the Epiphany blessing. Like the baptismal version, the Epiphany epiclesis requests

---

[49] See Appendix G.

[50] "Who came and was baptized in the river Jordan, and illuminated the entire race of humanity, o Lord our God, [by the descent and operation…]" in Conybeare, p. 284.

[51] "You have sanctified the streams of Jordan, sending down from on high your most Holy Spirit, and you have broken the heads of the dragons hidden therein," BAR no. 131, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 356.

that the demons be removed from the water, and that it might be filled with the presence of angelic power.[52] The latter portion of D-2 does not include exorcisms or apotropaic petitions, but these motifs occasionally surface in the rite.

Comparative liturgy illustrates the expression of similar exorcistic and apotropaic motifs in the Armenian and West Syrian rites. The Armenian version of "Great are You" in *San Lazaro 457* asks God to make the blessed waters the "dread ruin of demons."[53] The prayer after "Great are You" in the Armenian rite ("O Living God") asks God to "expel therefrom all hurt and evil taint, and all violence of Satan."[54] The first part of the Armenian Prologue leading into the poetic "todays" also contains a text indicating Jesus' "bruising" the head of the dragon in the waters, and the "todays" contain four verses referring to the destruction of the dragon.[55] The second prayer of the West Syrian rite in *B.M. Add. 14.495* asks God to heal ecclesial divisions and heresies attributed to the devil, and the fourth prayer ("O Creator of the waters") defines the waters as protection against all opposing agencies.[56] The Armenian rite in particular depicts the blessing of waters as an arena where Christ defeats the evils spirits that lurk in the waters.

The broader liturgical context of the Byzantine rite offers more evidence of exorcistic motifs in the liturgy of the blessing of waters. An apotropaic petition occurs in the ninth century in the synapte of *Sinai 957* and *Sinai 958:* "that it would be for the averting and cleansing of every operation and treachery of visible…"[57] The water assumes a protective quality here, to prevent visible (and probably invisible) enemies from executing evil purposes. The ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains an independent petition that expresses a similar sentiment: "For the sinking of the power of every soul-destroying enemy in them, we pray to you, hear us…"[58] This petition requests the destruction of "soul-destroying" ("ψυχοφθόρου") enemies in the waters, evoking the sinking of the dragons mentioned in D-1. BAR's ektene does not contain any exorcistic petitions even though its baptismal synapte includes a variant of this petition from *Grottaferrata Gb VII*.[59] One of BAR's petitions occurs in several Euchologia of the three historical stages, referring to the cleansing of the waters by the power of the Trinity, but it does not explicate

---

[52] "[Make it] … inaccessible to the adverse powers, filled with angelic strength," BAR no. 131, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

[53] Conybeare, p. 176.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Nos. 18, 27, 42, and 51, ibid., pp. 172–4.

[56] Budge, pp. 90, 97. Budge's English translation refers to the evil one as the "calumniator" in both instances, one who is deceitful and slanderous.

[57] In Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 7, 19, the eighth petition in *Sinai 957* and *Sinai 958*. Dmitrievsky did not provide the complete text for each petition.

[58] In Passarelli no. 155.

[59] "For the destruction of the power of every soul-destroying enemy in them, let us pray to the Lord," BAR no. 120.10.

evil powers in the waters.[60] Several Euchologia from Stage One contain litanic petitions requesting protection from and destruction of evil spirits.

Petitions scattered throughout the Euchologia further elucidate exorcistic motifs. *Sinai 973* (twelfth century) contains a petition calling for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the assembly, empowering participants to conquer Satan: "That the Holy Spirit would come upon us, and that Satan would be speedily crushed under our feet, and that every evil counsel that goes against us would be dispersed, let us pray…"[61] *Sinai 1036* (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) includes two unique petitions that emphasize the exorcistic function of the descent of the Holy Spirit: "That these waters would be revealed as the destruction against demons and adverse powers through the power and descent of the Holy Spirit…" and "For the sinking of the power of spiritual warfare of all in them…"[62] An additional benefit acquired through the descent of the Holy Spirit appears in these epicletic petitions from *Sinai 1036*, as the first petition invokes the Holy Spirit on the participants themselves, whereas the second concerns the waters. Both petitions attribute the defeat of Satan and evil powers to the Holy Spirit.

The variant Prologue "Glory to You, Christ" (Appendix G), occurring in the tenth-century *Grottaferrata Gb X* and the sixteenth-century *Sinai 974* also contains an exorcistic motif, as the celebrant requests that Christ, by the descent of the Holy Spirit, stand with the ministers so that they could command the evil spirits. "Glory to You, Christ" is obviously particular to Epiphany given its heortological anamnesis. Its liturgical context indicates some form of exorcism. The baptismal motifs proliferating in *Grottaferrata Gb X* and *Sinai 974* entail baptismal celebration, as noted elsewhere, so it is possible that this apology was written for baptisms celebrated on the Epiphany feast.

Most petitions in the Epiphany ektene/synapte focus on the positive results for humankind, with the petition from *Sinai 957* above appearing most frequently.[63] Exorcistic petitions are absent from BAR, and appear sporadically in the ektene/synapte of Euchologia in the three stages of the rite's history. The theme of protection from evil occurs more frequently in Euchologia of Stage One, and appears occasionally in Stages Two and Three. The appearance of more exorcistic themes in Stage One could be related to the hypothesis on the origins of the "Great are You" prayer in Chapter Three. The hypothesis suggested that the end of D-2, D-3 and D-4 were festal interpolations replacing the exorcism in the original baptismal "Great are You" prayer. The exorcistic petitions surviving in the blessing of waters, and also the variant Prologue "Glory to you, Christ," could be remnants from older

---

60 "That the cleansing operation of the supersubstantial Trinity would come down upon these waters, we pray," BAR no. 127.15.

61 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 89.

62 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 150.

63 Prominent Byzantine Euchologia such as *Paris Coislin 213* and *Bessarion* do not include exorcistic petitions.

liturgical components from the baptismal rite that came to be overshadowed by other festal themes, like those enumerated by the end of D-2 and D-3.

Analysis of Epicletic Blessings: Healing of Souls and Bodies

Healing of participants in soul and body is a priority of the blessing of waters. The "epiclesis-extension" (D-4) contains the participle "τοῖς τε κεχρημένοις," which implies the practice of anointing and by implication introduces the theme of healing. For the purposes of organization, this section on healing discusses the themes of deliverance from sin and granting the gift of incorruption. The liturgical context of the blessing of waters confirms healing as a priority, beginning with the ektene/synapte. BAR's ektene contains a petition nearly ubiquitous throughout the Byzantine Euchologia, with some variation: "that it would be for the purification of souls and bodies for all who draw and partake of them, we pray."[64] The implications of the petition are manifold. First, it agrees with the language of the epiclesis, alluding to the participles that identify the use of the water ("ἀρυομένοις" and "μεταλαμβάνουσιν"). The text of this petition is similar to a phrase from D-2, "that all who draw from and partake of it may have it for the purification of souls and bodies."[65] Because the petition corresponds to the Epiphany portion of D-2, one would assume that it is native to the Epiphany ektene. This may be true, but the same petition is found in BAR's baptismal synapte.[66] The petition refers to the cleansing of soul and body of those who draw from the water ("ἀρυομένοις") and also those who partake of it ("μεταλαμβάνουσιν"), actions less likely to be performed with baptismal waters. BAR's inclusion of this petition in its baptismal synapte suggests an instance wherein the Epiphany blessing influences the rites of Baptism. The baptismal petition quotes the Epiphany elaboration of the epicletic benefits almost verbatim, a text absent from the baptismal version of D-2.

Litanic petitions from the ektene/synapte of other Byzantine Euchologia echo the benefits elucidated by BAR's petition. *Sinai 957* explicitly requests the healing of every malady of soul and body ("That it would be revealed as healing and cleansing of every malady of souls and of bodies"), and refers to the act of anointing in a consecutive petition ("That it would be a source of faith for all those who are anointed from it and partake of it unto the purification of fleshly and spiritual defilement").[67] *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contains a version of this

---

64 BAR no. 127.16, the petition prior to "Σῶσον ἡμᾶς…," Appendix A-15.

65 BAR no. 131, Appendix D-2.

66 BAR no. 120.11.

67 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 7. Note the fluidity of language in the petitions, as the first petition refers to "bodies" ("σωμάτων") and the next alludes to "flesh" ("σαρκὸς"). *Sinai 958* (Dmitrievsky-II, p. 19) contains the first of these two petitions. *Bessarion* also includes the petition, with the reference to anointing (Arranz, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano,* p. 198).

petition that mentions the act of touching in the participle "τῶν ἀντλούντων."[68] The Euchologia consistently express the same themes with some variation in text. *Sinai 958* explicitly identifies the healing of both fleshly and spiritual defilement from anointing and partaking.[69] A petition from *Sinai 973* makes essentially the same request: "For the sanctification of soul and body for those who draw from it and those who touch it, let us pray."[70] In conclusion, several ektene/synapte from all three historical stages confirm the importance of the blessing of healing by requesting purification of soul and body by touching, partaking of, and being anointed by the sanctified water. The consistent occurrence of the petition requesting purification of soul and body for participants throughout the Euchologia confirms its historical presence.

The prayer for healing used by the Byzantine and West Syrian rites ("Creator of the Waters") is a primary source for explicating the relationship between the blessed waters and the hope for healing.[71] BAR includes the prayer under the category of prayers for various occasions.[72] André Jacob mentions the prayer's position at the conclusion of the blessing of the waters on Epiphany in the West Syrian rite, and argues on the basis of comparative liturgy that it occupied the same position and function at some point in the history of the Byzantine rite.[73] Despite its absence from the sequence of Epiphany prayers in BAR, its position adjacent to the blessing of waters in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* appears to confirm Jacob's contention. Like other components, this prayer was probably displaced from its position as the Byzantine blessing of waters on Epiphany evolved. The text of BAR's version of "Creator of the Waters" illustrates its request for the healing of body and soul:

> Creator of the waters, creator of all beings, almighty Lord God, who does and transforms everything, change, transform and sanctify this water and use it against every illness, and grant to those who will be anointed deliverance from all sufferings and every sickness. For you are a good God and the lover of humankind [from the] beginning…

---

68 In Passarelli, no. 155. The entire petition reads: "For those who touch it and draw from it for the sanctification of souls and bodies, we pray to you, hear us."

69 "That it would be a source of faith for all those who are anointed from it and partake of it unto the purification of fleshly and spiritual defilement," in Dmitrievsky-II, p. 19.

70 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 89.

71 In the Byzantine rite, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, in Passarelli, no. 160. *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* in A. Jacob, "Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur," p. 323. Conybeare does not include the prayer as a part of the Epiphany blessing of the waters in his translation of the liturgy of *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*. Budge offers a translation of the Syrian text of *B.M. 14.495 Add.* in pp. 77–8.

72 BAR 231.

73 A. Jacob, "Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων," pp. 140–41.

> Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων, δημιουργὲ τῶν ἁπάντων, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων, μεταποίησον καὶ μετασκεύασον καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο καὶ ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸ κατὰ πάσης ἐπικειμένης, καὶ δὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις εἴτε ἀπαλλαγὴν παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης νόσου. Ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις…[74]

Beginning by remembering God as creator, the prayer requests that he change ("μεταποίησον"), transform ("μετασκεύασον"), and sanctify the water ("ἁγίασον"). Preservation against imposed illnesses ("ἐπικειμένης"), and deliverance from all sufferings and illness ("ἀπαλλαγὴν παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης νόσου") are the blessings requested by the prayer. The prayer's reference to sufferings ("πάθους") and illness ("νόσου") resonates with the emphasis on spiritual and bodily healing in the litanies. The participle "χριομένοις" implies that anointing accompanied or followed the prayer. Jacob notes the diffusion of the terms "χρίειν" and "κεχρημένοις" in the context of the blessing of waters. The Euchologia that use both "κεχρημένοις" and "χριομένοις" use the former in the "Great are You" prayer, and the latter in the synapte, demonstrating their independent development in the manuscripts.[75] Jacob states that the notion of anointing was incorporated into the Epiphany prayer and applied to water from its original context of holy unction, imposing the healing function of unction on water.[76]

Grottaferrata Gb VII contains a variant of "Creator of the Waters" that expands its theological significance. Its core resembles BAR's, but it differs by extending the use of the water by referring to those who partake by drinking and anointing ("πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν"), and sprinkling ("ῥαντίσεως").[77] Furthermore, the version of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* elaborates the benefits of these activities by connecting them to the healing of soul and body ("εἰς ὑγίειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος"), and the turning away of evil things ("εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος"). The version of "Creator of the Waters" in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* better corresponds to the epiclesis in its references to partaking, anointing, and sprinkling, the benefits of bodily and spiritual healing, and protection from evil. This prayer confirms the consistent request for the

---

[74] BAR no. 231.

[75] Jacob, "Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων," pp. 140–42.

[76] Ibid., 144. Jacob bases this claim on the use of oil and water for healing in the euchology of Serapion and Apostolic Constitutions.

[77] "Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων, δημιουργὲ τῶν ἁπάντων, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων, μεταποίησον καὶ μετασκεύασον καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο· ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν ἁγίαν σου δύναμιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸ κατὰ πάσης ἐπικειμένης ἐνεργείας, μαγείας, φαρμακείας, καὶ δὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις εἴτε διὰ πόσεως, εἴτε διὰ νίψεως, εἴτε διὰ ῥαντίσεως εἰς ὑγίειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης νόσου, ὅπως γένηται ὕδωρ ἀναπαύσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χριομένοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος· ὅπως τοῦ παρὰ σοῦ ἐλέους τυγχάνοντες, δόξαν σοι ἀναπέμψωμεν τῷ Πατρὶ…" (Passarelli, no. 160).

healing of soul and body through prescribed activities in multiple portions of the rite, and reflects the blessings and activities mentioned by D-2. The first evidence of its displacement from the Epiphany blessing occurs in BAR, and it disappears from the Byzantine euchology by Stage Two.

Budge's translation of the West Syrian *B.M. Add. 14.495* (tenth–eleventh century) coheres with the Byzantine version of "Creator of the Waters" in *Grottaferrata Gb VII. B.M. Add. 14.495* asks that the waters be changed "by the might of the Holy Spirit," and includes the references to drinking and sprinkling present in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* but absent from BAR.[78] The version of *B.M. Add. 14.495* concludes with a different doxology, "through Jesus, our Lord, unto who, are meet praise," underscoring the Syrian Christological emphasis on Christ as the initiator of the divine activity. Throughout its development in the Byzantine and West Syrian liturgies, local editors clearly modified the prayer's text, resulting in the variant versions I have examined here. In summary, "Creator of the Waters" provides a powerful affirmation of the deliberate use of the blessed Epiphany waters in the Byzantine and West Syrian rites for the healing of soul and body, and included the use of the water by drinking, anointing, and sprinkling.

Several extra-liturgical sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries testify to the healing properties of water in Constantinople and Palestine. Pilgrims visiting Constantinople from Russia described churches with fountains and springs of natural water that performed miraculous healings on the maimed and ill. A fourteenth-century Russian pilgrim writing the so-called "Anonymous description" of the holy places of Constantinople refers to the miraculous healings that occurred through water at the Church of the Savior Philanthropos:

> There is holy water below the Savior [Church] in a stone cistern enclosed between the city wall and the sea. People wash with this water and drink it and healing comes from it. Ailing legs are buried in the sand along the sea here, near the holy water, and they become healthy when the worms run out of the legs and out of the whole body.[79]

George Majeska states that the fountain was "the chief attraction of the shrine … a miraculous fountain which sanctified the sand onto which the water flowed."[80] Zosima, a prominent deacon from the Trinity-St Sergius monastery just outside of Moscow writing in about AD 1423, reports the healing of many sick who buried

---

78 Budge, p. 77.

79 From Majeska, pp. 140–41.

80 Ibid., pp. 373–4. Majeska adds, concerning the water: "The fountain continued to flow into the nineteenth century, up to which time it was still visited by the Greek community of Istanbul, especially on August 6, the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ, which was probably the patronal holiday of the church."

their feet in the sand by the fountain.[81] Majeska describes the Monastery of the Virgin at Pege (sixth century, located west of the land walls of Constantinople) as a place frequented by people seeking bodily healing.[82]

Such allusions to natural sources of water holding special curative powers were not limited to the Constantinopolitan environment. A well on the grounds of the monastery of St Sabas in Palestine was revealed to Sabas by a wild ass and came to be known as a "holy spring," or "ἁγίασμα," which yielded "sweet, clean water" that was "good for drinking and had the power to cure" according to fourteenth- and sixteenth-century witnesses.[83]

Neither the Constantinopolitan nor the Sabaitic sources connect natural healing waters to the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The sources reveal the importance of water to life in Constantinople and Palestine, with an interpretation of water as a source of healing embedded in the consciousness of the people. The appellations of "ἁγίασμα" and "πηγή" confirm the veneration of water as a divine gift. "Ἁγίασμα" and "πηγή" are terms which abound throughout the blessing of waters on Epiphany, and were perhaps not coincidentally applied to these locations.

An isolated incident from Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical history confirms the widely diffused association of the waters blessed on Epiphany with the healing of bodily ailments. In AD 1325, the Constantinopolitan synod of bishops deliberated and ruled on the charge of sacrilege made against the monk Malachi from the monastery Philokalu in Thessalonika.[84] The monk Dositheus of the monastery of Philokalu in Thessalonika, suffering from epilepsy and seeking a cure for his disease, sought to be healed by drinking the water blessed on the feast of Epiphany, which apparently led to his death.[85] The water was allegedly tainted, and a monk named Joseph said that Malachi had polluted the water. The patriarch and the synod exonerated Malachi and confirmed his right to remain in an ordained rite. The most significant result was the synod's instruction that the

---

[81] "In it there is holy water beneath the church, and innumerable sick and lepers receive healing by burying their feet in the sand there," ibid., p. 166.

[82] Majeska states with some detail: "The water from the holy spring, which gave the shrine its name, was, and among Greeks still is, considered to be holy to the Virgin and was her chosen medium to effect cures. On Fridays, particularly on the Friday after Easter, people still come as they did in Byzantine times to drink and wash in the holy water, seeking cures and grace. The actions mentioned by the Russian pilgrims at the spring, namely drinking the holy water from the *hagiasma* and washing in it, are typical of the customs followed by visitors to the shrine even today," ibid., p. 326.

[83] Patrich, "The Sabaite Heritage—An Introductory Survey," in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, p. 22.

[84] In *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Edition und übersetzung der urkunden aus den jahren 1315–1331*, eds Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 19 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), letter 85, pp. 535–41.

[85] Ibid.

monastery be more diligent in preserving the water blessed on Epiphany in the future.[86] This unfortunate turn of events emphasizes the natural inclination of a sick person to seek healing from the waters sanctified on Epiphany.

In summary, the ektene/synapte consistently requests the purification of soul and body throughout the history of the blessing of waters. The early history of the blessing of waters attests to the presence of the prayer "Creator of the Waters," sanctifying the water for the healing of body and soul, as part of the Epiphany blessing in the Byzantine and West Syrian rites. The presence of this prayer affirms the importance of spiritual and bodily healing as a blessing requested in D-2 of "Great are You." Furthermore, select excerpts from Constantinopolitan and Palestinian ecclesiastical history refer to water as a natural source of healing. These reports occur predominantly in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they provide examples of the way people sought holy water for physical healing in Constantinople, Palestine, and Thessalonika. These reports demonstrate that a connection between holy water and physical healing was present in these locations by the fourteenth century. It is possible that the numerous references to healing in the blessing of waters contributed to these ideas.

Analysis of Epicletic Blessings: Reconciliation of Penitents

The epiclesis (D-2) of "Great are You" explicates remission of sins as one of the requested blessings. The waters sanctified on Epiphany were used in the process of penitence, according to the "Office and Order of Confession" from "our venerable father John the Faster," patriarch of Constantinople in the sixth century.[87] John's work on penitence explains its process and provides a detailed description of all the prayers and texts that could be used, including those specific to holy seasons of the liturgical year.[88] John stipulates the following concerning the reception of the sanctified waters on Epiphany:

> On the birth of Christ, and on the Lights and the three days of Pascha, truly on Holy Thursday, and on Great Saturday, and on the Great Day of the Lord, and on the commemoration of the Holy Apostles, instead of communion one partakes of the sanctified [water] of the Lights, and thus one looses.
>
> Τὰ δὲ Χριστοῦ γέννα, καὶ τὰ Φῶτα καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τοῦ Πασχα ἡμέρας, ἤτοι τῇ μεγάλῃ ε΄, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαββάτῳ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ, καὶ τῶν Ἁγίων

[86] Ibid.

[87] John the Faster, "Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογούμενον," "ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωαννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ," (CPG 7559) in PG 88, pp. 1889–1919. For a brief summary of its significance in the Epiphany office, see Vidalis, p. 239.

[88] Another of John's works, "λόγος πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξαγορεῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν Πατέρα," in PG 88, pp. 1919–37, provides a detailed presentation on prayers of confession.

> Ἀποστόλων τὴν μνημὴν, ἄντι κοινωνίας μεταλαμβάνειν ἁγίασμα τῶν Φώτων, καὶ οὕτω διαλύειν. [89]

Receiving the waters sanctified on Epiphany constituted an important step in the process of reconciliation. John the Faster grants penitents the privilege of standing in the nave for Vespers, Orthros, and other offices in the section immediately preceding his instructions on the use of the sanctified water, a witness to the restrictions in liturgical participation in liturgy for penitents of the sixth century.[90] John's instruction reserved partaking of the Epiphany waters for the most solemn feasts, namely the Nativity, Epiphany, the three days of Pascha, Holy Thursday, Holy Saturday, and the commemoration of the Holy Apostles. Receiving sanctified water was not equivalent to participating in Communion, as John indicates it as a replacement for communion ("ἄντι κοινωνίας"). For John the Faster, partaking of the sanctified water was significant enough to entail a "loosing" ("διαλύειν"), a word historically used in reference to loosing one from excommunication, and also the payment of one's debts for absolution.[91]

John's order for penitents certainly influenced the development of the sacrament of penance. The prescription for partaking of the Epiphany waters occurred in the ninth-century *Protokanonarion* of John the deacon and monk, and the *Deuterokanonarion* attributed to Basil the monk. These works are related to John the Faster's *kanonarion*. They reflect the imposition of the Studite reforms in the ninth century and are characterized by the severity of inquisition during the process of confession.[92] John the deacon's *Protokanonarion* examines numerous sins, including fornication, adultery, bestiality, and incest, and concludes with murder. John the deacon preserved John the Faster's reference to the Epiphany water almost verbatim.[93] An abbreviated version of this prescription was incorporated into the *Deuterokanonarion* attributed to Basil the monk, and the entire corpus is also found in the *Taktikon* attributed to Nikon of the Black Mountain (north of Antioch) of the eleventh century, attesting to the breadth of its dissemination.[94]

---

[89] John the Faster, PG 88, p. 1913.

[90] "At Vespers and Orthros and the other offices one can stand in the nave if one wishes," ibid.

[91] *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, s.v. "διαλύω."

[92] See Miguel Arranz, ed., *I Penitenziali Bizantini. Il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni Monaco e Diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio Monaco*, Kanonika 3 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 1993), pp. 20–22.

[93] "On the birth of Christ and the Lights, and on Pascha and the three days: truly, on Great Thursday, on the Great Sabbath and the Great Day of the Lord, and on the commemoration of the great and all-honorable apostles: instead of communion they receive and drink the sanctified [waters] of Holy Theophany," ibid., p. 96.

[94] "On Holy Thursday and on Great Saturday and the Great Lord's Day: they have partaken of the sanctified [waters] of the Lights," ibid., p. 200. The *Deuterokanonarion* repeats the same prescription for the feast of the Nativity a bit later (ibid., p. 202). On

None of the formularies for penance in the Byzantine Euchologia consulted for this study mentions the use of the Epiphany waters in the prayers and rituals of confession. The *kanonarion* itself does not consist of formularies, but is rather a collection of canons and norms used to assign penances for particular sins.[95] Rites and prayers for confession are appended to the versions of the *kanonarion* adopted by various monasteries. Monastic communities adopted versions of the *Protokanonarion* and *Deuterokanonarion* and used solemn rituals of confession, prayers, a prayer of absolution primarily directed to the penitent, and the assignment of the penitence at the end.[96] Frequently, a monk-confessor, not a priest, leads the ritual, underscoring its monastic provenance. Arranz has identified select interrogations, prayers, and rites from the *Protokanonarion* and *Deuterokanonarion* in some monastic sources, including *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13* (twelfth century).[97] This Euchologion does not refer to the use of the Epiphany waters in its formularies for penance, but it is possible that it was used there as part of the penitential process.

Communion of the Epiphany Waters in Slavonic Sources

The pre-revolutionary Russian Orthodox historian Konstantin Nikolsky studied the history of the rite of Communion of the Epiphany waters in Russian liturgical sources from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.[98] Nikolsky's work is dated, but his presentation of texts proves instructive in attempting to illustrate a historical connection between the partaking of Epiphany waters as part of the penitential process in select monasteries of the Byzantine Commonwealth and the continuation of this practice in Russia. Nikolsky asserts that the tradition of partaking of the Epiphany waters instead of the body and blood of Christ developed into an actual rite of communion of the sanctified water. Nikolsky found this rite in the following liturgical sources:[99] three Euchologia of the sixteenth centuries

---

Nikon, see V. Benesevic, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa* (Petrograd: Zapiski Istoriko-Philologicheskago Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta, 1917), p. 85.

[95] Miguel Arranz, "Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine. Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, II-3," OCP 59 (1993) p. 63.

[96] Ibid., pp. 64–5.

[97] Ibid., 7 pp. 4–9.

[98] K. Nikolsky, "О Службах русской церкви бывших в прежних печатных богослужебных книгах," (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1885), pp. 287–95.

[99] *Trebnyk* literally translates as "needs." The *Trebnyk* is an extension of the Euchologion ("Sluzhebnyk" in Slavonic). As prayers and rituals of lesser orders were added and inserted into the *Sluzhebnyk*, the *Trebnyk* appeared as a book containing lesser rites while the *Sluzhebnyk* came to be associated only with the celebration of Eucharistic liturgies. Thus, the rites of Baptism, marriage, anointing, and penance were found in the *Trebnyk* since these were only occasional "needs," outside of the weekly cycle of liturgical celebration.

(nos. 356, 358, and 360), *Trebnyk* no. 377 of the sixteenth century, in the Moscow Euchologia of 1602 and 1616, the Moscow *Potrebnyk* of 1625 and 1636, the Mirskiy *Potrebnyk* of 1639, and the *Potrebnyk* of 1651.[100]

Nikolsky accurately noted that the presider could assign communion from the blessed Epiphany waters instead of Eucharistic communion to penitents who were still in the process of spiritual rehabilitation.[101] The "Rite of Communion of Sanctified Water, Great Sanctification" on Epiphany was the ordo actually used for penitents who were not prepared for Eucharistic communion but were still participating to a limited degree in ecclesial life. Table 8.2 presents the order according to the *Potrebnyk* of AD 1625, per Nikolsky:[102]

Table 8.2 Rite of Communion of Sanctified Water, Great Sanctification

- Opening Prayers
- Psalm 50 ("Have mercy on me")
- "I believe in one God" (Creed)
- Troparion (Tone 5): "He who holds this cup" [103]
- *Glory … now and ever*.
- Theotokion: "The pure virgin"[104]
- Prayer of holy communion by St John Chrysostom[105]
- The penitent performs three prostrations.
- Troparion (Epiphany): "When you were baptized"
- *Glory now and ever*
- Kontakion (Tone 4): "Today the universal one has appeared"
- Penitent partakes of holy water "with fear and in awe of grace"

100 Nikolsky, pp. 290–91.

101 Ibid., p. 289.

102 Ibid., pp. 295–6. Translation is the author's.

103 "He who holds this cup as treasure, grant me to draw this water for the remission of sins, for it quenches thirst. O Lord, full of grace, save me," ibid.

104 "The pure Virgin who contained the word, show my soul to be the house of the All-Holy Spirit, the water to be a life-beginning fountain to consume the burning of sin, for in your debt I glorify you," ibid.

105 "Lord our God, who was a rational being with your Father without beginning, always remaining together with the immortal Spirit, who are the giver of every sanctification, who sanctified everything before your baptism in water, you yourself, now and forever, by your holy invocation, sanctify this holy water by the descent and operation of the Holy Spirit, grant to your servant (name) the communicant, the illumination of soul, the sanctification of body, the destroying of passions, the casting out of evil intentions, the depositing of resistance to the evil one, for the preservation of every decent thing, for your grace protects him from every slander that would come, unto the glory of your most-good and holy name, through the prayers of our immaculate Lady and Mother the Theotokos and of all the saints. Amen," ibid.

- Prayer after communion of holy water by John Chrysostom[106]
- Dismissal

Clearly, the rite for receiving communion of holy water is patterned after the piety and reverence Christians have held for the sanctified body and blood of Christ. The liturgical piety is evidenced by a prayer of communion said before receiving the water, the three prostrations said before the water, and the prayer said after receiving the water. The prayers echo many of the ideas from the ritual of the blessing of waters on Epiphany. Notably, they address Christ himself. The request that Christ sanctify the water now is odd, since the waters were previously blessed on Epiphany. Liturgical prayers of the Byzantine rite invoke God to bless and sanctify repeatedly, even when an epiclesis has already occurred, as a way of emphasizing God's activity in the rite.

The context of the rite and the themes expressed by its prayers are of greater interest. First, the context suggests that partaking of blessed water can occur as a part of the process of penance and reconciliation upon the recommendation of the spiritual director. The blessed water does not restore one to full communion in the Church, but those who partake of it receive the sanctification of the body, healing of sins, and destroying of passions. Second, the prayers refer to Christ's baptism in the water as the paradigmatic event serving as the source for the healing that the participants receive from the water. The theological themes in this rite are parallel to those in the celebration of the blessing of waters, as recipients receive the healing of soul and body and remission of sins. The rite is very similar thematically and structurally to the use of sanctified water described in the Byzantine monastic *kanonaria*.

The rite of communion of sanctified water disappeared from the Russian liturgical books by the year AD 1658 due to the strong similarities between receiving blessed water and Eucharistic communion. The similarities include the requirement of fasting from eating food before partaking of the water, a rule still prescribed by the Typikon employed by most contemporary churches of the Byzantine Rite.[107] Apparently, the distinction between receiving the blessed water and partaking of Eucharistic communion diminished in some communities, so the

---

[106] "Glory to your inexpressible and superior grace, glory to your most lengthy longsuffering, glory to your great good, for now you have made your sinful and unworthy servant worthy of sanctification. Strengthen me with the communion of the holy water on account of my life, keep me safe from every harm, turn away the operations of my enemies, show me to be free from impure intentions. Renew me in everything, steer every act to be according to your wish, for you are the sweetness of our souls, and to you we send up glory, together with your eternal Father, and with your Most-holy Spirit, now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen," ibid.

[107] *Типікон* (Moscow: Publishing Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2002), p. 408. The Typikon does, however, encourage those who have eaten to partake of the water, so they would not be deprived of the grace of God.

rite of communion of blessed water was removed from the liturgical books.[108] However, the contemporary *Trebnyk* of the Russian Orthodox Church continues to include as part of the ritual of penance an admonition to those with many sins to abstain from Eucharistic communion, and an encouragement to partake of the "great agiasmos," a reference to the waters sanctified on Epiphany.[109]

History is instructive on the use of blessed water in the process of reconciliation of penitents in Byzantine monastic life, beginning with patriarch John the Faster in the sixth century, continuing through the *kanonaria* of John the deacon and Basil the monk, and concluding with the Russian rite of communion of sanctified water in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. The waters blessed on Epiphany were not equivalent to Eucharistic Communion, but served an important purpose in reconciling sinners to the Church on its most solemn feast days, and were described as a "loosing." It is likely that the water was used for penitence by some Byzantine monastic communities. No conclusions can be drawn on the popularity of this practice, however, especially since the application of every part of the *kanonarion* in actual practice is unknown. This evidence does show that the communities that adopted the *kanonarion's* prescription for using the Epiphany water in penance confirmed it as a source for healing participants of bodily and spiritual illnesses. The *Rite of Communion of Sanctified Water, Great Sanctification* practiced in Russian liturgy through the middle of the seventeenth century confirms the use of the blessed Epiphany waters as part of the process of reconciling penitents to the Church.

Analysis of Epicletic Blessings: The Gift of Sanctification

The epiclesis (D-2) of "Great are You" requests that Christ would make the water a gift of sanctification ("ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον"), a theme also expressed by the "epiclesis-extension" (D-4). The frequent inclusion of the word sanctification ("ἁγιασμὸς") in the title of the liturgical celebration in the Byzantine liturgical sources demonstrates its role as the goal of the entire celebration, the sanctification of liturgical participants. One can argue that sanctification is a synthesis of all the themes expressed and explored by the epiclesis, a vision of a converted humanity obedient to God and clothed in the likeness of Christ. An examination of the liturgical context elucidates the meaning of sanctification in the blessing of waters.

References to the use of the water for the sanctification of homes are scattered throughout the Byzantine Euchologia.[110] The text at the end of the epiclesis (D-

---

[108] Nikolsky, pp. 292–94.

[109] *Требник,* (Moscow: Publishing Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 1992), pp. 84–85. The use of the Greek word "agiasmos" in the *Trebnyk*'s Slavonic text suggests that the practice of encouraging penitents to receive the sanctified water instead of Eucharistic communion was of a great age.

[110] Also see the Armenian rite in *San Lazaro 457*, Conybeare, p. 177; the West Syrian rite, *B.M. Add. 14.495,* in Budge, p. 74; and the Coptic rite in Burmester, p. 255.

2) mentions this ("πρὸς ἁγιασμὸν οἴκων"), as does one of the petitions from the synapte of *Sinai 966* (thirteenth century): "That it would be for the driving away and the purification and the sanctification of a home."[111] The sanctification of the home is included along with a request for deliverance and purification in a petition that collects several ideas on the use of the water. Two petitions from the synapte of *Sinai 962* (eleventh–twelfth centuries) employ sanctification by using it as a synonym for purification in requesting cleansing of passions ("that it would become for them a source of sanctification against passion"), and by requesting sanctification in an echo of the epiclesis (D-2) ("that they would be revealed as a gift of sanctification, healing of diseases.")[112] One verse from the Prologue of *Codex Athens National Library 663* (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) offers a reflection on the notion of sanctification wherein the sea delights in the reception of the sanctification of grace through the Jordan: "Today the sea is truly glad through receiving the sanctification of the grace of the Jordan."[113] The examples cited here align sanctification with other specific gifts, including protection against passions, purification, and the reception of grace, themes that evoke the notion of conversion from a state of sin and temptation into living a life after the Holy Spirit.

A petition from BAR's ektene requesting that participants would be blessed with "every spiritual blessing" confirms the gift of sanctification as a repository of blessings granted to participants.[114] The prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," completing the ektene/synapte, affirms this in its request that Christ would grant "cleansing water, the gift of your compassion," and that through this water, "Your blessing may be granted to us and to all your faithful people."[115]

The other prayers from the blessing of waters on Epiphany echo the same collective themes. The prayer of inclination, recalling the sanctification of the waters that just occurred ("who condescended to be baptized in the Jordan and sanctified the waters"), asks that God would make participants worthy of the healing of souls and bodies.[116] The prayer "God our God" contains a similar petition requesting the same gifts:

> …Master, sanctify this water, and make it a spring of blessing, the healing of passions, the sanctification of dwellings, a protection from all visible and invisible attack for all who draw from it and partake of it.[117]

---

111 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 212.

112 Ibid., p. 70.

113 Trempelas, p. 38.

114 BAR no. 127.11 (Appendix B). Also in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (Passarelli, no. 155).

115 From BAR no. 128.2 (Appendix B-2). Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 353.

116 "…and count us worthy to be filled with your sanctification through partaking of this water, and may it grant us, Lord, healing of soul and body," no. BAR 132.4, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 358.

117 Translated by author.

> …δέσποτα, ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ ποίησον αὐτὸ γενέσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀρυομένοις καὶ τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐλογίας πηγήν, ἰατρείαν παθῶν, ἁγιασμὸν οἴκων, πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου ἀλεξητήριον.[118]

The "God our God" courtyard prayer of the Byzantine rite repeats the request of the "Great are You" prayer, articulating the same themes of sanctification. Because it was the second or "other" blessing prayer used for the Epiphany event in Stages One and Two, it is possible that its text was intentionally patterned after "Great are You."

Sanctification might be best defined as receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit by drawing from, touching, being anointed with, and partaking of the waters sanctified on Epiphany. One petition from the synapte of *Sinai 1036* (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) requests that "these waters would become springs of life and a dwelling place of the Holy Spirit," rendering all present partakers of the Holy Spirit.[119] Hymns native to the blessing of waters further elaborate the ultimate goal of receiving the Holy Spirit. The concluding hymn, "Let Us the Faithful" ("Ἀνυμνήσωμεν, οἱ ποστοί") which occurs at the end of the rite in *Evergetis Typikon* (eleventh century), *Sinai 1094* (twelfth–thirteenth centuries), and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* (sixteenth century), states that the Spirit is received from Christ:

> Let us, the faithful, praise the greatness of God's beneficence regarding us; for in our transgression he who alone was pure and undefiled becoming man purifies our purification in the Jordan, sanctifying me and the waters and crushing the heads of the dragons in the water. Let us draw water therefore with gladness, brothers, for to those who draw in faith the grace of the Spirit is invisibly given by Christ our God and the Savior of our souls.[120]

An exhortation to the faithful to draw from the blessed waters, the hymn recounts Christ's Baptism in the Jordan and emphasizes purification and the removal of evil spirits. At its conclusion, it acknowledges that partaking of the waters amounts to receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit from Christ. The hymn's articulation of Christ bestowing the grace of the Spirit on those who draw water confirms this study's thesis on Christ as the author of the event, who grants the gift of the Holy Spirit to participants. "Let Us the Faithful" originates from the Studite-Sabaitic monastic celebration in Stage Two, and was not universally sung throughout the history of the Byzantine rite. Its occurrence in a hybrid source (*Evergetis Typikon*) and Sabaitic Typikon (*Sinai 1094*) suggests its Sabaitic provenance. Its use in the monastic rite of these two Typika illustrates an additional Christological dimension, especially since the hymn connects the activity of drawing the water

---

118 BAR no. 133.2 (Appendix E).

119 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 150.

120 See Appendix F-4. Text and translation taken from R. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis,* pp. 418–19.

with receiving the grace of the Spirit from Christ. The hymn's position at the end of the blessing of waters renders it a reflective summary of the liturgical celebration. Thus, the limited appearance of "Let Us the Faithful" in the monastic rite of Stage Two shows that the idea of receiving the Spirit from Christ in the blessing of waters was even more prominent in the monastic context.

"Voice of the Lord," the opening hymn of the blessing of waters in the Byzantine rite, makes significant mention of the reception of the Holy Spirit (see Appendix F-3). This brief Troparion defines the purpose of the entire celebration: to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit. "Voice of the Lord" describes the gift of the Spirit by using adjectives that define qualities of holiness: wisdom, understanding, and the fear of God. "Voice of the Lord" occurs frequently in the history of the blessing of waters, demonstrating its significance in articulating theological themes.

Together, "Let Us the Faithful" and "Voice of the Lord" recapitulate and elaborate the theology of the blessing of waters expressed by the epiclesis and its liturgical context. "Voice of the Lord" is sung universally in the Byzantine rite by the end of Stage One, while "Let Us the Faithful" appeared in the Studite-Sabaitic context of Stage Two. The gift of sanctification is received by partaking of the waters blessed by Christ, and results in purification of soul and body, protection from evil influences, and the sanctification of the person. Christ sanctifies the waters, as he did when he entered the Jordan at his own baptism, and by his action, the Spirit descends upon the waters and dwells there, renewing them and all those who partake of them. The two hymns also reflect a unique intersection of Christology and pneumatology. Christ's historical entrance into the Jordan functions as the liturgical anamnesis, which in turn shapes the epiclesis.[121] In the blessing of waters, the anamnesis enables the Church to invoke Christ to act as he did in the past by the descent of the Holy Spirit, imparting the same blessings today as he did when he entered the Jordan. The hymns are part of the assembly's invocation of Christ to bless the waters and grant the gift of the Spirit to participants. Christ's response to the assembly underscores his primary role as the author of the liturgical event and source of the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The Plunging of the Cross into the Water

The plunging of a cross into the water following the "Great are You" prayer and prayer of inclination frequently occurs in the Byzantine liturgical sources. In Stage One, BAR (eighth century), *Sinai 957* (ninth century), and *Sinai 956* (tenth century) do not refer to this action. BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* refer to the priest sprinkling the people at this point.[122] *Sinai 958* refers to a unique occurrence at the end of the ritual: "And the priest lights the life-giving crosses, singing the Troparion with the

---

[121] See Kevin Irwin, *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994), pp. 47–48, for a concise description of the reciprocal functions of anamnesis and epiclesis.

[122] BAR no. 132.5, Passarelli, no. 158.

people, in tone 1: 'When You were baptized in the Jordan'." [123] *Grottaferrata Gb X* (tenth–eleventh century) contains a reference to the submersion of objects into the water: "And he plunges the holy items carried thus, singing the Troparion in tone 4: 'Great is the Cross that Shined'."[124] "Εγκόλπια" is an ambiguous term and could refer to multiple objects brought to the site of the ritual, possibly including a cross. *Grottaferrata Gb X* continues with a prescription for the sprinkling of the people.[125] *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (tenth century) refers to the plunging of the cross three times in its description of the ritual, followed by the chanting of the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," and the sprinkling of the people after the blessing of the waters.[126] *Grottaferrata Gb VII* mentions the plunging of the cross with an attached torch three times following the prayer "God our God."[127]

The plunging of the cross into the water appears elsewhere in the three stages of the Byzantine rite's historical development.[128] *Athos Kostamonitos 60* (sixteenth century) states that the priest traces the water with the cross three times, followed by the sprinkling of the nave, icons, and people.[129] The details accompanying the plunging of the cross into the waters in other Euchologia consist of only occasional and minor differences from the main characteristics described here.

The plunging of the cross into the waters also occurs in the monastic Typika. Its description in the twelfth- to thirteenth-century Sabaitic Typikon *Sinai 1096* is generally representative: "The priest receives the cross from the one who is holding it and blesses the waters in the form of a cross, going down straight in the waters and singing in tone 1: 'When You were baptized'."[130] *Sinai 1094*, *Messina 115*, *Evergetis Typikon*, and *Vatican Greek 1877* all contain similar prescriptions. *Messina 115* and *Evergetis Typikon* refer to the honorable wood ("τίμιον ξύλον"), which appears to be a synonym for the cross in the monastic context. TPA does not specifically mention any activity with a cross, referring only to the blessing of the water by the priest.[131]

The Typika describing the plunging of the cross add the blessing of the waters in the form of a cross ("σταυροειδῶς"),[132] and the plunging of the cross "straight

---

123 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 27.

124 "Καὶ βαπτίζει τὰ ἅγια ἐγκόλπια ψάλλων οὕτως, τροπάριον ἦχος δ΄.Μέγας σταυρὸς ἐφάνη," in Conybeare, p. 427.

125 Ibid., p. 427.

126 Conybeare, p. 430. Parenti and Velkovska briefly describe *Grottaferrata Gb IV* and date it to the tenth century in Parenti and Velkovska, p. 44.

127 Passarelli, no. 159.

128 *Sinai 973*, *Patmos 104*, *Patmos 105*, *Sinai 966*, *Codex National Athens Library 670*, *Sinai 983*, *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athanasius Athos 21*.

129 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 850.

130 Dmitrievsky-III, p. 37.

131 Pentkovsky, p. 316.

132 See *Sinai 1096* (Dmitrievsky-III, p. 37); *Messina 115* (Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine*, p. 99); *Vatican Greek 1877* (Dmitrievsky-I, p. 848).

down" ("κατάγων αὐτὸν ὄρθιον ἐν τῷ ὕδατι").[133] Some Typika refer to the celebrant sprinkling the assembly with the sanctified water following the plunging of the cross.[134] Like *Athos Kostamonitos 60*, TPA mentions the sanctification of other objects in the church. *Evergetis Typikon* and *Vatopedi 322* refer to the community's partaking of the water along with sprinkling.[135] In summary, the plunging of the cross appears frequently as a culminating gesture for the blessing of waters in the Studite-Sabaitic monastic practice, beginning with *Sinai 1094* in the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Its preponderance throughout the Byzantine rite is likely due to the increasing monasticization of the rite, which increased in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.

The plunging of the cross also occurs in a related Byzantine ritual for the blessing of the waters on August 1. TGC makes an oblique reference to this celebration in the following concluding phrase in its entry for August 1: "And the plunging of the honorable wood."[136] *Paris Coislin 213* contains a basic description of this rite, with an incomplete ordo due to a lacuna in the manuscript.[137] Its ordo and contents differ from the Epiphany blessing with a few exceptions, including the plunging of the cross as a culminating gesture. *Jerusalem Holy Cross 52*, a fourteenth-century Sabaitic Typikon, contains the following description of the plunging of the cross in the blessing of waters on August 1: "and immediately the priest receives the cross and dipping it into the water, says to himself: in the name of the Father…"[138] This liturgical rite also includes rubrics for the sprinkling of the people.[139]

The unique action of plunging the cross into the water is significant because of its occurrence in rituals celebrating the blessing of the waters. Actions from parallel Byzantine rites provide a basis for comparison. In the epiclesis of the anaphora of Chrysostom, the celebrant makes a tracing gesture over the chalice.[140] The placement of the consecrated bread into the chalice filled with wine following the intonation of "the holy things for the holy" is accompanied by a pneumatological allusion, and could be interpreted as an instance or an extension of an epiclesis.[141] The actions of tracing and blowing the sign of the cross in the baptismal rituals are significant.[142] The celebrant repeatedly makes the sign of the cross throughout the baptismal ritual. He blows air on the catechumen three times

---

133 *Sinai 1094*.

134 Pentkovsky, p. 316. See also *Sinai 1094*, *Evergetis Typikon*, and *Vatopedi 322*.

135 *Evergetis Typikon*, in Jordan, pp. 418–19. *Vatopedi 322*, in Dmitrievsky-I, p. 238.

136 TGC, pp. 256–7.

137 Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 1051–2.

138 Dmitrievsky-III, pp. 190–91. Dmitrievsky describes the Typikon on p. 180.

139 Ibid.

140 BAR no. 35.3.

141 BAR no. 40.6. On the pneumatological significance of the commixture in the Byzantine Eucharistic liturgy, see R. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: The Precommunion Rites*, p. 399, n. 89, pp. 421–35.

142 BAR no. 122.3.

during the exorcisms;[143] he blows and traces the sign of the cross three times over the vessel holding the oil of Baptism, immediately following the sanctification of the waters and prior to immersion;[144] he pours some of the oil in the sign of the cross in the water three times while singing "Alleluia" prior to immersion.[145] In the baptismal rituals, the sign of the cross, made by blowing and tracing, frequently accompanies prayers and acts of exorcism, and prayers of protection from evil spirits. The use of the sign of the cross in Chrysostom's anaphora, Baptism, and the consecration of myron confirms it as a common gesture in Byzantine liturgy.[146]

In the West Syrian blessing of waters on Epiphany described in the twelfth-century *Pontifical of Michael the Great*, the celebrant makes the sign of the cross over the waters 12 times immediately following the recitation of the "Great are You" prayer.[147] The plunging of the cross into the water is absent from the twelfth-century *Pontifical of Michael the Great*, but it occurs in the contemporary *Liber Festivus*, perhaps revealing a Byzantinization of the Syrian ritual.[148] In the Armenian rite of *San Lazaro 457*, the celebrant blesses the water with a cross and myrrh.[149] The Maronite rite blesses water by throwing flaming coals from the censer into the water.[150] Like the West Syrian rites, the Coptic rite repeats the action of blessing the water several times, and it uses a cross with lighted tapers for the action.[151] Like the Byzantine rite, the Armenian, West Syrian, Maronite, and Coptic rites use instruments as an epicletic gesture of blessing the water.

An interpretation of the plunging of the cross in the waters in the blessing of waters can be created from an analysis of its liturgical context. At this point in the ritual's order, most of the core prayers have already been proclaimed. Table 8.3 illustrates a selection of texts immediately following the plunging of the cross into the waters:[152]

---

143 BAR no. 117.3.

144 BAR no. 123.3.

145 BAR no. 124.2.

146 See BAR 141.3 for the consecration of myron.

147 A. du Boullay and G. Khouri-Sarkis, "La bénédiction de l'eau," p. 219. E.A. Budge's presentation of the West Syrian blessing of waters in *Brit. Mus. Add. 14.495* confirms this series of signs of the cross over the waters, one sign for each sentence of the prayer beginning "O Creator of the Water" in *The Blessing of the Waters,* p. 77.

148 See G. Khouri-Sarkis and A. du Boullay, "La bénédiction de l'eau," p. 219.

149 Conybeare, p. 178.

150 Sauget., p. 337.

151 Burmester, p. 252.

152 Not an exhaustive list. Many Typika do not include any accompanying text, and indicate the singing of the Troparion "When You were Baptized."

Table 8.3 Texts Accompanying the Plunging of the Cross

- "Glory to the holy, consubstantial" (3x) (*Patmos 104*, *Codex Athens National Library 670*)
- "For you are our sanctification and to you we send up glory…," sprinkling (*Patmos 105*)
- "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," drinks from it, and distributes it to people (*Sinai 966*)
- "To the Holy Trinity: Father and Son and Holy Spirit, now and ever…" (*Euchologium Sinaiticum*)
- "Christ is baptized, the one who takes away the sin of the world," and the people are sprinkled (*Sinai 973*)
- Alleluia, with verses and "Great is the Cross that Shined" (*Grot. Gb IV*, *Grot. Gb VII*, *Grot. Gb X*, *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, *Athos Kostamonitos 60*)
- "Light, the Father, light, the Son, light and the Holy Spirit" (*Athanasius Athos 21*)
- "Let this water be blessed, anointed, and hallowed in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit (*San Lazaro 457*)
- "In the name of the Father: let them be purified! In the name of the Son: let them be undefiled! In the name of the Holy Spirit: let them be blessed!" (Maronite)

The number of texts accompanying the plunging of the cross into the waters indicates a variety of theological emphases. "Glory to the holy consubstantial…" and the two texts invoking the Trinity emphasize the Trinitarian theme recurring throughout the celebration and correspond to the significance of the Troparion "When You were Baptized," which describes the activity of each person of the Trinity at the Epiphany event. The brevity of these texts hinders elaboration on the plunging of the cross.

The text of *Sinai 973* (twelfth century) contains an anamnesis of the historical event:

> And immediately the priest, taking the honorable cross, blesses the water, saying: Christ is baptized, the one who takes away the sin of the world. John baptizes the Lord, the one who takes away sin. Christ is baptized, the one who takes away the sin of the world.[153]

This text recited by the priest does not refer to the cross, but remembers Christ's baptism that removes the sin of the world. The text can be interpreted as offering a larger historical perspective on Christ's baptism that includes the entirety of his life. It identifies Christ as the one who takes away the sin from the world, citing John the Baptist's words at Jesus' baptism (John 1:29). John's words anticipate the completion of salvation in the cross and Jesus' Pascha, and the hymn can be interpreted as doing the same. The cross constitutes a Christological symbol, conveying the presence of Christ himself in its immersion into the waters.

153 Dmitrievsky-II, p. 91.

The hymnody accompanying the plunging of the cross into the waters in the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" presumes a celebration of Baptism in its phrase, "slaves of sin … going down and coming up children of incorruption."[154] In this case, the cross itself shines in the pool and its presence contributes to the conversion of the neophytes.

In summary, the combined liturgical actions and texts reveal three consistent themes associated with the plunging of the cross: first, the meaning of the cross in Baptism; second, the presence of light; and third, some meaningful action associated with the cross or wood. Since the baptismal themes have been analyzed above, an examination of the themes of light and wood occurs in the text below.

The light theme, appearing in both texts and in the torches mentioned by *Sinai 958* and *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, the Maronite ritual of throwing flaming coals into the water, and the Coptic cross with lighted tapers has a rich history associated with the Epiphany feast. Winkler presents the early history of the appearance of light at Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan, and the presence of fire accompanying Jesus as he entered the Jordan.[155] Winkler also emphasizes the role of fire in sanctifying the waters in early Syriac sources. Liturgical texts elaborate the theme of light throughout the rite. The prayer "Lord Jesus Christ" cites the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by describing Christ as "light of light."[156] BAR's Prologue contains several allusions to the illumination of darkness in the shining of the sun, the stars, and the moon.[157] The light theme, referring to the light provided by creation and the light of God, recurs throughout the Prologues.[158] *Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, *Messina 115*, *Coislin 402*, and *Vatican Greek 1877* all indicate that the clergy wear white vestments for the occasion, underscoring both its solemnity and the centrality of the light theme. A reference to Elijah's manifestation of God through the use of fire and water occurs in D-3.[159] A petition from the ektene of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* refers to the presence of the Holy Spirit and fire in the Jordan, resulting in the remission of sins for participants.[160] A verse from the Prologue of *Codex National Athens Library 663* attributes the fire to the godhead, used to sanctify neophytes.[161]

---

154 Dmitrievsky-II, pp. 682–3.

155 Winkler, "The Appearance of Light at the Baptism of Jesus," pp. 294–304.

156 BAR no. 128.2 (see Appendix B).

157 BAR no. 130.2 c, e, k (Appendix C-3, C-5, C-11).

158 Passarelli, no. 155.

159 "You are our God who by water and fire through Elijah have brought back Israel from the error of Baal," translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 357.

160 "You who by the Holy Spirit and fire drove away and tempered the bitterness of our sin, we pray," in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (Passarelli, no. 155).

161 "Today the master is baptized by a servant and witnessed by the Father, and baptized by the fire of the godhead in the waters, and the one who is baptized sanctifies the baptizer," in Trempelas, p. 38.

TGC contains important Troparia chanted at the Vesperal Liturgy on January 5 that also serves as the occasion for the blessing of waters on Epiphany.[162] These Troparia also occur in the monastic Vesperal Liturgy on January 5 of the eleventh-century *Evergetis Typikon*.[163] Juan Mateos states that the brevity of the Troparia accommodates the chanting of more psalm verses, which evidences the age of the practice.[164] It is likely that the monastic rite acquired this practice from the cathedral liturgy. The first Troparion occurs after the first three Old Testament readings, and functions as the responsorial refrain of the assembly, with several select psalm verses intercalated: "You who have created the world are made manifest in the world, to illuminate those who sit in darkness. Glory to you who loves mankind."[165] The second Troparion occurs after the sixth Old Testament reading, expressing a similar theme of Christ's light illuminating the darkness: "In the abundance of your mercy, you have made yourself manifest to sinners and publicans, O our Savior. Where indeed should your light have shone save upon those who sit in darkness? Glory to you."[166] *Codex Paris Greek 1590*, a twelfth-century manuscript constituting a synaxarion and Typikon representing Hagia Sophia, indicates an additional Troparion appended to the third antiphon at the Eucharistic liturgy:[167]

> The one who, as God, is cloaked in light, but was being bodily surrounded by water, was baptized by the Forerunner. He made the Jordan into a furnace and destroyed all the sins of those who received the bath of regeneration there. For Christ is truly the unapproachable light.[168]

This Troparion provides the most substantial articulation of the light theme in the Byzantine rite by referring to Christ as the source of light, who enters the waters and converts them into a furnace that removes sin through Baptism. The texts also elaborate fire as contributing to the destruction of sin for those who encounter it in Baptism. The Troparion confirms Winkler's contention that the earlier stratum of appearances of light and fire at Jesus' baptism survived in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, especially throughout the three stages of the Epiphany rite's history.[169]

An examination of the Syriac and Maronite sources confirms Winkler's thesis, as the light theme is particularly powerful when these rites bless the Epiphany waters. Jacon of Serugh's sixth-century homily on Epiphany makes numerous references to Christ as light and fire, particularly when he describes Jesus' descent

---

162 *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 340, 343.

163 See *Evergetis Typikon*, pp. 410–13.

164 Mateos, *La célébration*, p. 17–18.

165 TGC, p. 176. English translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 340.

166 TGC, p. 176. English translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 343.

167 See J. Mateos, "Introduction," in TGC, p. v.

168 TGC, p. 180, n. 1.

169 Winkler, "The Appearance of Light at the Baptism of Jesus," p. 306.

into the Jordan. Jacob refers to Jesus as "the living fire," "the flame," and "the coal of fire."[170] Jacob reflects on Jesus' impact on the waters: "The waters were inflamed by the lightning of flames because the Living Fire had come for baptism to be washed by them. It sets the ages on fire and casts its flame into the fountain and the glow from it kindled the river in holiness."[171] These diverse references to light and fire in word and gesture, widely diffused among the Eastern liturgies, punctuate the thesis that Christ himself sanctifies the waters. The theological motif of light and fire is stronger in the West Syrian, Maronite and Coptic rites, but its presence in the Byzantine rite shows that it was once prevalent among the Byzantines. Most importantly, the gestures including fire powerfully interpret the act of blessing the waters as one performed by Christ himself.

Ironically, references to the cross in the Epiphany rite are scarce in comparison to the light theme. Other than the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," neither references to the cross, nor specifically Paschal references occur. Instead, the texts contain references to biblical uses of wood for the sustenance of God's people and provide the hermeneutic for interpreting the plunging of the cross in the waters.

An important liturgical reference to the use of wood for water occurs in the prayer "God our God."[172] The prayer opens: "God our God, who in the days of Moses changed the bitter water into sweet for the people."[173] God's leading Israel through the Red Sea into the wilderness of Shur forms the context for this verse, as the people murmured, and God provided them with drinkable water when Moses cast a tree into the water (Exodus 15:22–5). References to Elisha's casting salt into the spring of the water when the people had complained about the lack of water (2 Kings 2:19–22), and Jesus' entrance into the Jordan for its sanctification are combined with the first reference to illustrate God's provision of water for his people throughout salvation history.

Ambrose, fourth-century bishop of Milan, interpreting the rituals of Baptism in *De Sacramentis*, employs biblical typology in his commentary on Moses' casting the wood into the water:

> Moses came into the desert, and the people were thirsty. They came to the spring of Marah and would have drunk. But when the water was first drawn, it was found to have a bitter taste: it was not possible to drink it. Then Moses put the wood into the spring, and the water which before was bitter now began to taste sweet. What does this mean except that every creature subject to corruption is water bitter to every taste? It may taste sweet for a time; but it is still bitter because it cannot take away sin. When You drink it, you become thirsty; When You have

---

170 In Jacob of Sarug, *Homily on Epiphany*, ed. and trans. T. Kollamparampil, pp. 44–6. Also see Brock's analysis of Jacob's theology in "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," pp. 326–7.

171 Kollamparampil, p. 46.

172 BAR no. 133.2 (Appendix D).

173 Ibid.

> tasted the sweetness of the draught, you come to experience its bitterness: it is bitter water. But once it has received the cross of Christ, the heavenly sacrament, it begins to be sweet and agreeable to the taste.
>
> Moyses cum uenisset in desertum et sitisset populus et uenisset ad Myrram fontem et bibere uellet, quia ubi primum hausit amaritudinem sensit et cœpit bibere non posse, ideo Moyses misit lignum in fontem et cœpit aqua quæ antea erat amara dulcescere. Quid significat, nisi quia omnis creatura corruptelæ obnoxia aqua amara est omnibus? Etsi ad tempus suauis est, etsi ad tempus iucunda, amara est quæ non potest auferre peccatum. Ubi biberis sities, ubi potus ceperis suauitatem, iterum amaritudinem senties. Amara ergo aqua, sed ubi crucem Christi, ubi acceperit cæleste sacramentum, incipit esse dulcis et suanis.[174]

Ambrose interprets the Exodus story of Moses and the wood as prefiguring the sanctifying operation of the cross in the baptismal waters. As noted above, Marutha also referred to the Exodus account of Moses' casting the tree into the water in his seventh-century homily on the Epiphany in Syria, and he connected this theme to the use of the water for quenching the thirst of those enduring the challenges of life after Baptism. Ambrose's and Marutha's typological interpretation of the Exodus account supports the possibility that plunging the cross into the water during the Epiphany ritual has a similar purpose. It certainly resonates with the chanting of the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" during the plunging of the cross. However, a more complete examination of scriptural motifs expressed by the rite reveals a broad spectrum of possibilities for theological interpretation.

Two petitions from the ektene recall God's use of wood in saving his people. A petition in BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* recalls God's favor for the progeny of Jacob in Genesis 30:25–43, when Jacob stakes rods made from green poplar, hazel and chestnut trees in the gutters of the watering troughs so that his stronger cattle would increase, a sign of his favor before God.[175] Another petition from *Grottaferrata Gb VII* recalls God's salvation of Israel through the rod of Moses and the pillar of fire (Exodus 14).[176] Older Euchologia like BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* contain petitions recalling the use of rods and water for the blessing and salvation of God's people. Both petitions above appear in the ektene of the blessing of waters presented by Afanaseva, represented by the Serbian Trebnyks *Гильф. 22*

---

[174] Ambrose of Milan, *De Sacramentiis* II.12–13 (CPL 154) in B. Botte (ed.), *Des Sacrements, Des Mystères*, SCh 25 (Paris: Cerf, 1950), pp. 65–6. Translation from E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the R.C.I.A.* 2nd edn (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1994), p. 114.

[175] "You who blessed and multiplied the flock of the Patriarch Jacob by rod and water, we pray," in BAR no. 127.6, and *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, in Passarelli, no. 155.

[176] "You who led Israel through the Red Sea by the rod of Moses and a pillar of fire and a cloud of light, we pray to you," ibid., p. 155.

(thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) and *Q.p.I.24* (fourteenth century).[177] In summary, allusions to God's salvation of his people through the instrumentality of wood in trees and rods appear in the prayer "God our God" and in two petitions of ektene/synapte in two Euchologia from Stage One and Trebnyks corresponding to Stages Two and Three.

The plunging of the cross into the waters towards the conclusion of the celebration of the ritual is an important theological component in the blessing of waters. The sources studied here include the theme of light, expressed in word and action through references to light, fire, charcoal, and the use of torches. Some sources specifically refer to the use of wood, which appears to be a synonym for the cross. In a different context, Ambrose of Milan interprets the Exodus story of Moses casting the wood into the waters as a type of the cross, which removes sin by its presence in the waters.[178] Marutha of Syria used the same biblical paradigm to illustrate the significance of the sanctified water for baptized Christians. Complementary liturgical texts from the Epiphany ritual demonstrate manifold expressions of God's employment of rods and wood to bless and rescue his people. It is likely that the plunging of the cross developed as a ritualization of a prominent theological idea rooted in God's use of wood and fire for saving humanity.

Examples from Chrysostom's anaphora, the consecration of myron, and the rituals of Baptism demonstrate that the sign of the cross is a common gesture of blessing in Eastern liturgical practice. The presence of baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters on Epiphany is indisputable, especially given the stark references to Baptism in the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" in *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Grottaferrata Gb X*, *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60.* The absence of consistent references to the cross and Christ's Pascha throughout the liturgy eliminates an exclusively baptismal interpretation of the plunging of the cross into the waters. Multiple references to God's use of rods and wood with water to both rescue and provide for his people constitute the best sources for interpreting the meaning of the submersion of the cross. The provision and protection flowing from the blessings of the epiclesis are confirmed by the recollection of God's history of salvation.

In conclusion, the plunging of the cross constitutes a symbolic action allowing a multivalence of interpretation which ultimately refers to God's salvation of his people in the continuum of history. Christ's historic entrance into the Jordan remains the paradigmatic action that blesses the waters, as illustrated by a variety of liturgical prayers and hymns drawn from the Eastern liturgies. As the epiclesis requests that Christ would come forward again, the plunging of the cross can also be understood as an action that completes the Christological trajectory of the

---

177 Afanaseva, pp. 26–30, 39.

178 The specific gestures used for the blessing of the waters in the ancient Milanese rites are unknown. Yarnold suggests that the bishop could have plunged his processional cross into the waters, but he produces no supporting evidence. See Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, p. 107, n. 30.

blessing of the waters, as the cross conveys the presence of Christ himself. The plunging of the cross became the symbolic ritual expressing Christ's historical entrance into the Jordan, a tangible epicletic action completing the anamnesis of the Jordan event. The Jordan became a conduit of sanctification because divinity in the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had entered it and eternally transformed its waters.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the epicletic texts of D-2 and D-4 from the "Great are You" prayer. This analysis shows that these sections follow the pattern established by the "praise-anamnesis" (D-1) and address Christ in a rich harmony of festal anamnesis leading into epiclesis. D-1 concludes with an anamnesis of Christ's entrance into and sanctification of the Jordan. This Christological anamnesis continues into an epiclesis that asks Christ to grant the blessings of deliverance and protection from sin and evil spirits, healing of bodily illnesses and spiritual maladies, the quelling of passions, and continuing growth in holiness through partaking of the water. The epiclesis requests the descent of the Holy Spirit, a motif recurring throughout the liturgical context. The descent of the Spirit coincides with the Spirit's manifestation of Christ's renewed presence at the blessing of waters. The Christological prominence of the liturgical context allows one to interpret the imperative to come now as then ("πάρεσο καὶ νῦν") as an invocation of Christ deliberately recalling his entrance into the Jordan. The anamnetic texts view the Father and the Spirit as witnesses to Christ's activity. Christ's activity at the present liturgy is firmly grounded by divine activity throughout the entire narrative of salvation history which several Old Testament references in the liturgical texts confirm. The frequency with which the liturgy directly addresses Christ emphasizes his divine authorship of the liturgical act. The unicity of the prayers demonstrates a sense of versatility and freedom in interpreting the operation of the Trinity in liturgical prayer.

A detailed examination of baptismal motifs in the blessing of waters on Epiphany indicates their proliferation in the ektene/synapte, select portions from the poetic "todays" of different Prologues, and the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined." The intersection of baptismal and Epiphany themes is particularly strong the liturgical components of BAR, *San Lazaro 457*, *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, *Grottaferrata Gb X*, *Sinai 973*, *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60*. TGC confirms that Baptism was celebrated on Epiphany, which explains the presence of baptismal content. Epiphany's status as a solemn feast of the liturgical year explains the resilience of baptismal liturgical components, since "primitive conditions are maintained with greater tenacity in the more sacred seasons of the liturgical year."[179]

[179] Baumstark, p. 27. Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," pp. 200, 206–820.

The blessing of waters on Epiphany is unique in its description of the specific ways participants use the water. The epiclesis, ektene/synapte, and complementary prayers consistently identify drawing and touching water, being anointed by water, and partaking of the water as the actions that complete the ritual and result in receiving the Holy Spirit. Partaking of the water connotes the notion of receiving blessings from God and helps explain the search for sources of holy water, the desire for purification of soul and body, petitions for protection from evil spirits, and the reconciliation of penitents in Byzantine ecclesiastical history. The Epiphany water was probably used by some Byzantine monasteries to reconcile penitents with God and the local Church on solemn feasts of the liturgical year, an assertion confirmed by a special rite for communion of the blessed Epiphany waters used in Russia from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. Several liturgical sources stipulate the sprinkling of the assembly at the end of the rite, and the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ" anticipates Christ's sprinkling the assembly for their purification.[180]

The plunging of the cross into the waters is established as a rich symbol recalling and renewing Christ's entrance into the Jordan. The cross is often described as the honorable wood, a reference expressing God's historical use of wood to bless and provide for his people. It is also strongly linked to the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," used in select Byzantine sources. Its use in the ritual establishes its symbolic versatility and positions Christ's sanctification of the Jordan as the fulfillment of God's saving actions done through and with water. The inclusion of light, fire, charcoal and myrrh in the action of blessing the water in the Eastern rites punctuates the Christological emphasis of the liturgy, representing an ancient Syrian theological motif that occurs in some Byzantine, Coptic, and Maronite sources. The plunging of the cross in the water is the ritual complement to the euchological narrative, an enactment of the epiclesis, and the culmination of an event recalling Christ's entrance into and present sanctification of the Jordan.

The actions of sprinkling, drawing from, touching, being anointed with, and partaking of the sanctified waters elucidate the relationship between the Epiphany epiclesis and Baptism. Participation in Baptism grants the requested blessings to neophytes, and those who partake of these activities for "every expedient purpose" in the blessing of waters on Epiphany are reminded of and work towards the same gift of sanctification that began with Baptism. The unique Epiphany portion of the text reiterates the themes expressed in Baptism, that those who partake might receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, or sanctification, anew. The blessing of waters on Epiphany thus constitutes a celebration of one's reception of the gift of the Spirit granted at Baptism, providing an opportunity to receive purification, protection, and spiritual blessings for ongoing conversion after Baptism.

---

[180] "We entreat you, master, lover of humankind, sprinkle upon us your unworthy servants, according to your divine promise, purifying water, the gift of your compassion." BAR no. 128.2 (Appendix B).

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 9
Pastoral Considerations

This study has presented a detailed analysis of the history and theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical rites. The analysis illuminates the solemnity of the occasion for participants. The euchology and ritual actions effectively demonstrate a theology of encounter, where participants meet Christ and receive the gift of the Spirit. The attitudes of the participants towards water enrich and confirm the euchology, as Eastern Christians have historically responded to the opportunity to receive divine healing and protection from these waters with enthusiasm. The desire to seek clean water that purifies soul and body is not surprising, because the liturgical theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany reveals the water as holy. A heightened awareness of a growing crisis in protecting and preserving water and its just distribution to the world's citizens leads Christians to ask about the place of water in Christian theology. Gary Chamberlain offers the following Christian view of water:

> Although not sacred in itself, water in the Christian tradition is powerfully symbolic as an instrument of God's powers for healing, purifying, and cleansing … Interesting questions emerge about water, or really, "holy" waters: what makes the water holy and imbues it with power? Is the water "holy" only symbolically or is the water "holy" and powerful in itself as in exorcism rituals, the healing power of wells, of the waters of Lourdes, which can even be bought over the Internet as a "medicine" for healing?[1]

Chamberlain asks provocative questions about water, and Christiana Peppard frames the issue in a focused analysis of the theological content of water in the current geopolitical context.[2] Peppard raises two issues of concern to pastors: first, she urges leaders to consider how their own practices impact the common good, a sober query considering that nearly one billion people of the world lack safe drinking water.[3] She also attends to the contemporary paradox of the Jordan,

---

[1] Gary L. Chamberlain, *Troubled Waters: Religion, Ethics, and the Global Water Crisis* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), pp. 49–50.

[2] Christiana Peppard, "A Parched World's Search for Water," *Reflections* (Fall 2010), pp. 63–5; eadem, "The Death Throes of the River Jordan," in *Water: Its Spiritual Significance*, eds Gray Henry-Blakemore and Elena Lloyd-Sidle (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2010), pp. 140–46.

[3] Peppard, "A Parched World's Search for Water," pp. 64–5.

which is "beleaguered" by a culture of poor stewardship and pollution.[4] One cannot dismiss the situation of the Jordan river as an insignificant exception, not only because of its deep historical significance, but because the Bible presents the Jordan as a universal image of water with the capacity to save humankind.[5] Thus, every source of water is the Jordan for Christian faithful, worthy of the most meticulous stewardship rooted in Christian priesthood.

This study of the history and theology of the blessing of waters cannot answer every question, but it can make a serious contribution towards developing a "new ethos" of water.[6] Developing a new ethos of water begins with the liturgy of blessing the Epiphany waters, since it is a primary source for the Eastern Christian theology of water. This chapter begins in a spirit of informing, which is the primary task of the liturgical historian, lest one be lulled by the temptation of antiquarianism in attempting to reconstruct a past limited by historical and cultural contexts.[7] However, the development of the liturgical structures in their respective contexts, and their liturgical theology are instructive for contemporary liturgy. Pastors will certainly benefit from a deeper comprehension of the way the blessing of waters has evolved and been interpreted. Also, pastors can benefit from a selective study of the information provided in this study.

Given the universal importance of water for life, the following sections will demonstrate how pastors can consult the blessing of waters as an original source for the following: catechetical liturgical theology and homiletics; prescriptions for optimal pastoral celebration in the churches of the East; and models for a Western adaptation of the rite. The last portion will focus on the issue of greatest importance by examining how the rite of the blessing of waters can inform and engage secular society in a dialogue on ecological stewardship.

Catechetical Liturgical Theology

In postmodern culture, the annual celebration of Christmas is pre-eminent. Once the Christmas season has passed and Christians return to customary routines of work, school, and domestic life, the Epiphany feast arrives and, despite its high rank in the liturgical year, few people find the time to observe it. Pastors and faithful who participate in its celebration recognize the theological treasures the feast and its liturgies offer. This historical study identifies several notable components of the liturgical celebration that hold considerable potential for liturgical catechesis

---

4 Peppard, "The Death Throes of the River Jordan," pp. 142–5.

5 Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," p. 327.

6 Fred Pearce, *When the Rivers Run Dry* (Boston: Beacon, 2006), p. 308, quoted in Chamberlain, *Troubled Waters*, p. 137.

7 For a recent and relevant liturgical example of antiquarianism, see John Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), pp. 51–3.

on the Epiphany blessing of waters. Pastors can catechize their people towards an understanding of the blessings received from participating in the blessing of waters.

Jesus' Baptism in the Jordan

The blessing of waters contains numerous theological themes, and one of them is consistently outstanding throughout its history. The Church's anamnesis of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan is the theological theme grounding the liturgical celebration. The "Great are You" prayer provides the most compelling demonstration of the foundation of Jesus' baptism. The praise-anamnesis (D-1) recalls Jesus' sanctification of the Jordan, and then invokes Jesus to "come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water."[8] Earlier, I analyzed how the epiclesis of D-2 invokes Christ himself to enter the waters and sanctify them, evidencing the economic Trinitarian activity beginning with the person of Christ. The invocation of Christ occurs in several other orations and hymns, which clearly supports the trajectory of divine activity initiated by Christ in the blessing of waters. I also noted the numerous baptismal themes appearing throughout the liturgy's history, clear evidence that Baptisms were historically celebrated as a part of the Epiphany liturgical order.[9] The practice of plunging the cross, wood, torches, and charcoal into the water is a universally recognized epicletic gesture practiced by the Eastern rites symbolizing Jesus' present entrance into the waters.

The festal focus on Jesus' entrance into the Jordan provides an opportunity to explore how his baptism in the synoptic Gospels expresses an alternative soteriological motif, distinct from the death/resurrection motif which occupies the thematic stage for most rites today. There is a strong connection between anamnesis and epiclesis in the blessing of waters. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus' appearance occurs in the context of John's baptism of repentance. Jesus voluntarily enters the Jordan and receives baptism before he calls anyone to follow him as his disciples. One could assert that Jesus establishes a pattern for discipleship here, taking the initiative to enter the waters so that disciples would have the courage to follow him on the path of repentance. The ensuing epiclesis seems to be unusual in invoking Jesus to enter the waters himself for the sanctification, ignoring a more prototypical pattern of asking God to send God's spirit. In this case, the epiclesis organically develops from the anamnetic pattern. The assembly remembers Jesus' initiative in entering the waters, and follows the same pattern in asking him to enter and sanctify the waters now. The assembly assumes that the pattern will continue, so that today's disciples would also follow Jesus to the saving waters, seeking repentance, and receiving blessings.

A close reading of the anamnesis of Jesus' baptism yields additional catechetical possibilities. Pastors can use the anamnesis-epiclesis construct of prayer and add

---

8 See Appendix D.

9 TGC, pp. 184–7.

the dimension of mimesis to encourage the faithful to follow.[10] Pastors can also study the significance of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan in the history of Baptism by attending to its thematic prominence in the ancient Syrian rites.[11] This is an opportunity to demonstrate the intimacy of the blessing of waters with Baptism, since the two rituals are rooted in the same event of salvation history. The Jordan as the contextual location of salvation provides an opportunity for consulting the Epiphany lectionary to show how Jesus' Jordan baptism fulfills God's covenantal provision for his people. For example, on the forefeast of Theophany on January 5, at *paramone*, TGC assigned a lection from Joshua 3:7–17.[12] The Jordan moved back for the priests bearing the ark of the covenant to pass over on dry ground, and God's people Israel likewise passed over. Here is an excellent opportunity to show how Jesus' baptism in the Jordan fulfills the Jordan event recorded in Joshua, a way of manifesting Jesus' divinity, since he bears the presence of God and is the God's word. Those who follow him through the water today are not only people of the covenant, but have followed him into light, an intriguing baptismal theme.

Resources for Homiletics and Catechesis

In addition to Jesus' foundational baptism in the Jordan, the blessing of waters provides numerous other unique components that can be used for homiletics and catechetics. The "Great are You" prayer provides the first source, as the central component of the liturgical celebration. The praise-anamnesis (D-1), defining God's almighty power as creator, illustrates how the God before whom all creation trembles appears on earth and makes the divine dwelling in the midst of creation. The dynamics of the dialogue between God and creation are powerful, and provide an opportunity to show how the Epiphany feast foreshadows the redemption of all of creation. Homilies and catechetical instruction can be constructed according to the following thematic foundations.

Old Testament Motifs of Salvation through Water

The anamnetic doxologies (D-3) constitute one of the more unique features of the "Great are You" prayer. Each verse glorifies God for saving or sustaining

---

[10] See Nonna Verna Harrison, "Gregory Nazianzen's Festal Spirituality: Anamnesis and Mimesis," *Philosophy and Theology* 18 (2006), pp. 27–51, and Nicholas Denysenko, "The Soteriological Significance of the Feast of Mary's Birth," *Theological Studies* 68 (2007), pp. 739–60.

[11] For a survey of the Jordan event, see Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1999), pp. 45–50, 108–9; and McDonnell, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan*, pp. 29–49.

[12] TGC, pp. 176–7. See also *The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, p. 341. Pastors can consult additional lessons listed in *The Festal Menaion* for homiletic and catechetical purposes.

humankind through the instrumentality of water by referring to an example drawn from the Old Testament. The homilist can draw upon the history of the covenant between God and Israel to show how God uses creation in saving and sustaining God's people, leading up to an organic transition of saving humanity in the new covenant, when Jesus enters the Jordan. In today's celebrations, one can illustrate the connections between the euchology and the lections assigned at the Vespers and Liturgy of St Basil to show how they reciprocally enrich one another.[13] The ektene of BAR, while no longer used in contemporary liturgy, provides another euchological source illustrating an emphasis on God's salvation of humanity in the Old Testament. Reference to this euchological text honors liturgical history and shows how this liturgy evolved in losing some of its scriptural basis. BAR's ektene is highly compatible with the anamnetic-doxologies (D-3) and the lections of Vespers, and thus worthy of explanation.

The Divine Presence in the Water

Here, homilists and catechists can transition from anamnetic-doxologies' (D-3) anamnesis of God's salvation of humanity through water and return to the interplay between anamnesis and epiclesis by emphasizing the divine presence in the water when the Church invokes Jesus himself to enter the waters. Beginning with the epiclesis (D-2), the Church invokes Christ to enter the waters and transform them. The organic connection of anamnesis-epiclesis occurs between the end of praise-anamnesis (D-1), which concludes with the appearance of Christ, and the beginning of the epiclesis (D-2), which invokes Christ to enter the waters. This section is distinctly Christological, and evokes Christ's priesthood in initiating acts of saving humanity then and now. Homilists and instructors can draw upon this rich priestly imagery to illustrate how Christ's active priesthood continues in liturgical celebration, with the Church speaking directly to its head in asking him to enter "this" water. Instructors have an opportunity to demonstrate the dynamic economy of salvation in time, as the Holy Spirit manifests Jesus' presence in the liturgical waters. Some explanation of the position of the anamnetic-doxologies (D-3) in the prayer will be helpful for more advanced students.

The prayer "Lord, Jesus Christ" amplifies the Christological trajectory of the celebration. Leaders should draw upon the euchology to show how this prayer anticipates its completion in "Great are You." This prayer is compatible with the praise-anamnesis (D-1) of "Great are You" in its sequential references to Jesus' incarnation and epiphany.[14] Its anticipatory character continues as the Church invokes

---

[13] *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 339–48.

[14] "For you have clothed yourself in our poor and infirm nature, and have submitted yourself to servitude, you who are king of all; and moreover you have accepted to be baptized in the Jordan by the hand of a servant, that having sanctified the nature of the waters, o sinless one, you might lead us to a new birth through water and Spirit, and restore us again to our original freedom," Appendix B.

Christ to "sprinkle upon us, your unworthy servants, according to your divine promise, cleansing water, the gift of your compassion," a reference to the epiclesis in D-2, and the ritual of sprinkling the people with the sanctified water after its blessing.[15]

Leaders can conclude with an explanation of the plunging of the cross into the waters, a ritualization of the anamnesis-epiclesis, with the cross functioning as the customary symbol of Christ. Discussion of the related Eastern actions of plunging torches and charcoal into the water can illustrate the broad variety of symbols used to denote divine presence. The use of fire in the torches and coal evokes an early Syrian tradition of Jesus as a symbol of fire, and offers a powerful complement to the Byzantine tradition of plunging the cross and wood. The plunging of the cross into the water remembers Jesus' entrance into the Jordan and completes the anamnesis-epiclesis interplay throughout the euchology. A reference to this ritual action will be most helpful in evoking a mental image of the ritual that helps explain its contextual euchology. In this instance, the ritual of plunging the cross into the water enriches and illuminates the texts of anamnesis-epiclesis.

Trinitarian Theology

The blessing of waters provides an opportunity to present diverse expressions of Trinitarian theology. The euchology and hymnography of the feast contain both traditional and alternative Trinitarian motifs which are particularly useful for instructors. The euchology's Christological trajectory explained above reveals an expression of Trinitarian theology in the divine economy that begins with Christ. Instructors can draw upon the euchology to show how the Church can invoke Christ to act, which also reveals the inseparability of Christ and the Holy Spirit in sanctifying the waters. This liturgy presents an alternative Trinitarian model because of the prevailing notion that the Church invokes God and asks God to send the Holy Spirit in consecratory liturgical prayer. Instructors can show how the Church as Christ's body invokes Christ as its head to initiate divine action.

This Christological euchology is apposite for a more traditional Trinitarian motif present in the popular hymns punctuating the liturgy. The Troparion "When you were baptized," which frequently concludes the celebration, and "Today the Trinity" explicate each person of the Holy Trinity.[16] Instructors can show how the singing of these hymns does not violate the Christological model exemplified by "Great are You," but introduces another layer of meaning, since the anamnesis of the original baptism manifests God as Trinity. These diverse expressions of Trinitarian theology occasion a comparison of traditional and alternative models of divine activity. The celebrant's apologetic prayer preceding the Prologue, "Uncreated Trinity," highlights the diversity of Trinitarian theology since this oration addresses all persons of the Trinity simultaneously.[17] This prayer employs an apophatic

---

15 Ibid.

16 See Appendix F.

17 Appendix C.

approach when it describes the unknown divine essence the three persons of the Trinity share.[18] The presence of these three Trinitarian expressions demonstrates the compatibility of diverse theological ideas of God in liturgical celebration.

Receiving Baptismal Blessings

Perhaps the greatest pastoral opportunity comes from participants receiving baptismal blessings anew. This study treats the weaving of baptismal themes into the Epiphany water blessing at length in previous chapters, and I will not repeat the details here. It is crucial for leaders to reiterate the organic connection between euchology and ritual action in demonstrating how euchology and ritual enrich each other. The epiclesis-blessings (D-2) and epiclesis-extension (D-4) of the "Great are You" prayer are particularly instructive, both in the iteration of blessings also given to baptizands, and also the explication of ritual actions for baptized participants.[19] Leaders can refer to the tangible participation in ritual action, namely touching, anointing, and partaking of the blessed waters that result in the reception of baptismal blessings. The hymn, "Let us the faithful," appearing rather late in the Byzantine manuscript tradition, illustrates an exhortation to participants to come and draw from the water to receive the grace of the Spirit.[20]

Leaders can also elaborate the connection of partaking of these waters with baptism by invoking imagination in reflecting on the euchology. The "Great are You" prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ," the "God our God" courtyard prayer, "Let us the faithful," and numerous other liturgical components examined in this study all imply the death of adversaries and enemies when Christ enters into the waters. This is particularly exemplified by the notion of breaking or crushing the "heads of dragons." Leaders can research the dragon and enemy motif in the waters and show how the evocation of such images can be actualized in contemporary Christian life through the belief that Christ has cleansed sin and its champions when he entered the waters, and performs the same apotropaic and cleansing actions when the Church invokes him to enter again. BAR's Prologue amplifies the baptismal motifs in numerous poetic verses which speak of illumination, regeneration, and release from lamentation.[21] These verses remind participants of the baptismal origins of the celebration.

---

[18] "Uncreated Trinity, one in essence, sovereign, all-powerful, omniscient, invisible, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, maker of spiritual beings and rational natures, innate goodness, unapproachable light that lightens each man that comes into the world," Appendix C.

[19] "Grant sanctification, blessing, purification, and health to those who touch it, anoint themselves with it or partake of it," D-4, Appendix D.

[20] Appendix F-4.

[21] "Today we have been delivered from darkness and we are being illuminated with the light of the knowledge of God. Today the master reforms the archetype through the regeneration of the image. Today we have been released from our ancient lamentation, and as the new Israel we have found salvation," BAR no. 129:1,2, Appendix C.

Pastors interested in deepening their understanding of the soteriological significance of Epiphany can consult the Syrian tradition of interpreting Jesus' entrance into the Jordan as his descent into Hades, to recover Adam, who is lost. The descent into Hades motif is potent, as it suggests a distinct, yet clearly relevant image of death and resurrection in the water. Equating the water with Hades not only acknowledges the danger associated with the natural property of water, but can heighten an ethical sense of stewardship in sustaining our bodies of water so that they would be worthy of Christ's entrance. Encouraging people to either seek Baptism or accept its blessings finds new support in identifying the waters as a place of death. Upon encountering the water, one must acknowledge the frailty of humanity, the gift of life, and place their hope in Christ who blesses the waters of past and present.[22]

The inclusion of the Epiphany waters in the history of the Byzantine mystery of reconciliation demonstrates the waters as a source of spiritual cleansing for participants. Even though the practice of directing penitents to partake of the Epiphany waters as part of the process of reconciliation is no longer predominant, its occurrence in liturgical history is instructive for today. The Byzantine and Russian practice of communion of the Epiphany waters reveals the waters as a symbol of the baptismal font, from which penitents receive renewed cleansing prior to returning to the Eucharistic table. As pastors and instructors provide spiritual direction, they can refer to the liturgical theology of the Epiphany feast as a source of receiving the baptismal blessing of cleansing of sin anew by partaking of the water. The position of this feast in January precedes the beginning of Lent anywhere from four to eight weeks, and can be interpreted as a necessary precursor to entering the Lenten season of penance, especially since the anamnesis of Jesus' baptism immediately precedes his entering the wilderness by the Spirit.[23]

Pastoral Considerations for the Byzantine Rite

The historical study of the blessing of waters is instructive for today. Liturgical celebrants who are satisfied with the version of this liturgy published in their preferred euchologion should not expect a call for restoring the "original" order of the rite here, because this study has shown that there was no single original ordo. The contemporary Byzantine rite has retained the euchological core, centering on the "Great are You" prayer, with the hymnography and liturgical context proving the most variable components in historical development. One could assert that the outline of homiletic and catechetical resources above is more than enough for contemporary pastoral considerations. However, the position of this celebration on

---

[22] See Jacob of Sarug, *Jacob of Sarug's Homily on Epiphany*, ed. and Trans. Thomas Kollamparampil; Sebastian Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, pp. 236–9; and McDonnell, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan*, pp. 156–67.

[23] Mark 1:13.

the calendar presents serious challenges to pastors who recognize the solemnity of the Epiphany feast. By January 6, many people have used work leave to spend time with family for Christmas and the New Year and are preparing to return to work. Drawing people beyond the faithful core to the Epiphany feast is a challenge for most pastors. The following section draws from Epiphany's liturgical history to suggest ideas for pastors to make the most of the blessing of waters.

When and Where to Bless the Waters

In the contemporary Byzantine rite, the blessing of waters on Epiphany is celebrated after the Vespers and liturgy of St Basil on the Eve of the feast, following Orthros, or following the liturgy on the day of the feast itself.[24] Two celebrations of the blessing of waters are assigned. The current scheme shows that there seems to be no native home for the blessing of waters. Its celebration is inserted into convenient slots in the liturgical schedule, either following the Eucharist or the Vigil. The attempt to find a suitable place for the celebration is also evident in reading its liturgical history. The tenth-century euchologion *Grottaferrata Gb X* assigns the water blessing after the readings at the *paramone*, and early in the morning, after Orthros. Most of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic Typika celebrate the blessing after the Eucharistic liturgy on the eve of the feast, but some celebrate it at Orthros. Thus, today's timing for the celebration follows liturgical history. The water blessing has no native home and even though it is a complete liturgical rite, it occurs in soft spots of established celebrations of the liturgy of the hours or the Eucharist. Its celebration at different times of the festal period also reveals its mobility; it has no fixed position. The water blessing's mobility also shows that it is not dependent upon the Vigil or the festal Eucharist.

The mobility of the celebration can be utilized today to emphasize it as the highlight of the Epiphany feast. The freedom to schedule the blessing of waters during a community's "prime time" will benefit the community. Pastors can find an open slot to which at least most of the community has access to accentuate the blessing of the waters. Since Epiphany occurs right after the secular new year, people are most likely to attend liturgical services on the weekend following Epiphany. Table 9.1 illustrates three options for the celebration of the blessing of waters as integrated into the festal and weekly liturgical cycles. These options are alternatives to the full liturgical order that some communities would attempt to follow.

The first option is the festal liturgical cycle, which assumes that Epiphany will fall on a weekday. In this option, a community will celebrate the feast on a weekday (when it occurs during the week), but would not follow the complete order of services. Some might object to this option, but the realities of recruiting singers and assistants for a full schedule on consecutive weekdays can be too much for some communities to handle. The first option retains the Vespers with the Liturgy of St Basil, followed by the full Epiphany blessing on the Eve of the feast.

---

[24] *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 348, 384–7.

On the day of Theophany, the Eucharistic Liturgy is celebrated, followed by an abbreviated blessing of waters using the courtyard prayer ("God our God") from the Constantinopolitan cathedral tradition. This order accommodates those who can attend church in the evening, and those who can attend in the morning on the feast, but need to return to work. Using the courtyard prayer for the water blessing retains the feast's liturgical theology and allows a reasonable amount of time for celebrating the water blessing. Those who must choose between the two days can still participate in both the Eucharist and the blessing of waters.

The second option reflects the practice of communities that move major feasts to Sunday, to maximize participation. Communities adopt this practice to retain a sense of the liturgical year and accommodate pastoral needs, such as finding musicians and assistants to carry out liturgical duties. On Saturday, the festal Vespers of Theophany would be followed by the full blessing of waters. This celebration retains the lections and festal elements of Vespers and allows for an emphasis on the water blessing. On Sunday, the moved feast supersedes the Sunday propers and a short order for the blessing of waters using the courtyard prayer, "God our God," follows. Like the first option, participants who choose between Saturday and Sunday benefit from attending a water blessing, although Saturday-only people would miss the Eucharist. It is likely that this order would draw a larger number of people since the solemnities are moved to the weekend. Parish leaders can then integrate the feast's liturgical theology into homilies and instruction.

The third option is designed for small communities that usually gather on Sunday only. Such communities might share a pastor, rent space for liturgy, or simply be too small to celebrate liturgy on weekdays. The third option's order is similar to the second, but the Vespers are omitted and replaced by the full blessing of waters. The replacement of Vespers with the water blessing emphasizes the blessing's solemnity as an annual celebration, and acknowledges the challenges small communities can face in procuring space for worship. The order for Sunday is identical to the second option, and includes the short order for the water blessing, again acknowledging the logistical challenges presented to small communities.

Table 9.1 Models for Contemporary Blessing of Waters

Festal Liturgical Cycle	**Theophany on Sunday**	**Theophany on Sunday Short Order**
January 5 (Eve of Theophany) Vespers & Liturgy of St Basil Great Blessing of Waters *January 6 (Theophany)* Eucharistic Liturgy Second blessing of waters using courtyard prayer, "God our God"	*Saturday* Festal Vespers of Theophany Great Blessing of Waters *Sunday (Lord's Day)* Eucharistic Liturgy with Festal lections/propers Second blessing of waters using courtyard prayer, "God our God"	*Saturday* Great Blessing of Waters *Sunday (Lord's Day)* Eucharistic Liturgy with Festal lections/propers

The Order for the Blessing of Waters

This study emphasizes the informative value of liturgical history, so I do not prescribe major revisions to the existing order of the blessing of waters.[25] Liturgical history offers two important suggestions for revision. First, the contemporary rite should retain the full Prologue as it appears in the Greek version of the celebration.[26] The Slavonic sources omit the Prologue, which results in the absence of the poetic "todays" that express the liturgical theology of creation, baptism, and conversion. Second, the current order should restore BAR's text of the "epiclesis-extension" (D-4) of the "Great are You" prayer so it no longer has the appearance of a second epiclesis.[27] The restoration of this text will correct an error of antiquity and restore an earlier sequence of prayer to "Great are You" that is sensible.

Short Order for the Blessing of Waters

The short order for the blessing of waters follows the principles of integrity and brevity, and centers on the Constantinopolitan courtyard prayer, "God our God." The short order adopts the Byzantine tradition of opening this rite with a hymn, followed by scripture, prayer, and dismissal. Table 9.2 contains the proposed short order for the blessing of waters that can be used for options two and three above:

Table 9.2 Short Order for the Blessing of Waters

Short Order for the Blessing of Waters
(1) Troparion: "Voice of the Lord"
(2) Prokeimenon/Epistle
(3) Alleluia/Gospel
(4) Abbreviated synapte (petitions for the water only) / "Lord, Jesus Christ"
(5) Courtyard prayer: "God our God"
(6) Prayer of Inclination
(7) Blessing of water with cross/Troparion, "When You were baptized"
(8) Hymn: "Let us the faithful"
(9) Dismissal

[25] For the full text, see *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 348–59.

[26] See ibid., pp. 353–5, for a complete English translation.

[27] "Now yourself, master, having blessed this water by your Holy Spirit, grant sanctification, blessing, purification, and health to those who touch it, anoint themselves with it or partake of it." For the translated text of BAR, see Appendix D-4.

Models for the Blessing of Waters in the West

There is no contemporary precedent for a particular Rite to adopt the liturgical office of a sister Rite in its entirety. Historically, the rites of different ecclesial communities have influenced one another. For example, several of the Marian feasts of the Roman rite came to the West from the Syrian-born Pope Sergius in the sixth century. Having been adopted by Rome, these feasts developed within the Roman rite and their liturgical structures have little in common when compared with those of the East.[28] Some liturgists believed that the Kyrie of the Roman rite emigrated from the Great Synapte of the Byzantine Rite.[29] Following the liturgical reforms of Vatican II, the Roman Catholic Church composed and added to the Roman Missal three new Eucharistic prayers to accompany the ancient Roman Canon.[30] Eucharistic Prayer no. 2 was based on the anaphora attributed to Hippolytus in the Apostolic tradition, while Eucharistic prayer no. 3 was based on a classical Antiochene type of anaphora.[31] These prayers were considerably revised, and are now established fixtures of the Missal. Bugnini reported that the criteria for new Eucharistic prayers included the following characteristics: common structures,[32] and the principle of variety.[33] The Roman Church included acclamations of the assembly following the consecration of the gifts in the three new anaphoras, an integration of Eastern practices to promote active participation.[34] Rome strongly considered adopting the Alexandrian anaphora of St Basil for several reasons, among them "its great value for ecumenism," with acknowledgement of its use

---

[28] P. Jounel, "The Veneration of Mary," in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 4: *The Liturgy and Time* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1986), pp. 134–6.

[29] For an overview, see A. Martimort, "The Dialogue Between God and His People," in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 1: *Principles of the Liturgy* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1987), pp. 134–5.

[30] For a detailed overview of the process, see Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), pp. 448–76. Also see Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986); Alan F. Detscher, "The Eucharistic Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church," in Frank Senn (ed.), *New Eucharistic Prayers: An Ecumenical Study of Their Development and Structure* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), pp. 15–53.

[31] Bugnini, p. 458. For a recent critique of this adaptation, see Matthieu Smyth, "The Anaphora of the So-called 'Apostolic Tradition' and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer," in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis* ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2010), pp. 71–98.

[32] Bugnini later qualifies this to mean "substantially identical structure," Bugnini, p. 451.

[33] "The new anaphoras should also have their own spiritual, pastoral, and stylistic characteristics that would distinguish them both from one another and from the Roman Canon," ibid., p. 452.

[34] Ibid., p. 455.

in both Oriental and Byzantine Churches of the East.[35] The Roman Eucharistic prayer no. 4 drew heavily upon St Basil's anaphora.[36]

The Roman Rite also made a major change in the formula of the rite of Confirmation, basing the new text recited by the bishop on the Byzantine version.[37] These examples of adopting and adding new prayers for the Roman rite are instructive, especially since many of them are native to Eastern Christian traditions. The proponents of adding new prayers viewed their inclusion in the Roman Missal as enriching the liturgy, and adopted criteria of inclusion that was compatible with the spirit of liturgical reform. The above examples do not include adaptations of entire rites, but the complexity of the structures of Eucharistic prayers eventually added to the Missal provides a framework for suggesting a Roman order for the Epiphany blessing of waters.

I begin by articulating principles for presenting a rite Roman Catholics could adopt. *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Second Vatican Council's teaching on the liturgy, offers an initial criterion for adaptation: "The rites should be distinguished by a noble simplicity; they should be short, clear, and unencumbered by useless repetitions; they should be within the people's powers of comprehension, and normally should not require much explanation."[38] The task of adapting a liturgical ritual from a sister rite involves much more than providing an order with texts and rubrics. It includes providing an order consisting of ritual actions, words, music, and transitions that celebrants and people recognize and can adopt as their own. The adaptation must contain theological idioms and aesthetics appropriate for the adapting tradition. Pastoral sensitivity must be applied to the reconstruction of liturgical dialogues in responsorial psalmody, lections, litanic biddings, orations, responses, and acclamations. The following recommendation for an adaptation of the Epiphany water blessing for Roman Catholics will thus apply the principles of brevity and clarity, a lack of repetition, and a sensible order the assembly can readily adopt.

The first step for Roman Catholics is determining the date and time for celebrating the blessing of waters. Blessing waters on the Epiphany solemnity is not a strong option, since the Western version of Epiphany has an independent theological and thematic trajectory from Eastern Theophany. In the West, Epiphany celebrates the Magi, or the three holy kings who are integral to the Nativity story.[39]

---

[35] Ibid., pp. 459–60. Bugnini notes that the Consilium did not vote for adopting the Basilian anaphora.

[36] Detscher, p. 37.

[37] R. Cabié, "The Celebration of Initiation After Vatican II," in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3: *The Sacraments* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1987), p. 94.

[38] *Sacrosanctum Concilium* no. 34 in Austin Flannery, ed., *Vatican II: The Basic Sixteen Documents*, (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1996), pp. 130–31.

[39] See Adolf Adam, *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy,* trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), pp. 144–7.

Epiphany outranks the feast of the Baptism of the Lord, which is celebrated on the Sunday after Epiphany.[40] For the adaptation of the water blessing, the ranking is not crucial. Because the anamnesis of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan grounds the Epiphany blessing, Roman Catholics should celebrate an adapted rite of water blessing on the feast of the baptism of Jesus. For Catholics, this means that the date of the water blessing will be mobile, but consistent with its Eastern parent in remaining attached to the commemoration of Jesus' Jordan baptism. Catholics celebrating several Masses on the Sunday will have to designate an appropriate time to bless the water. Consistency should also be applied to retaining the solemnity and meaning of the water blessing. It should be celebrated at a time when most people can attend and draw water for the sanctification of their homes.

Proposed Roman Rite of the Blessing of Waters

Table 9.3 provides an order for the rite of the blessing of the waters to be used by Roman Catholics. Each component of the proposed rite will be explained in more detail in the narrative following the table.

Table 9.3 Order for Blessing of Waters: Roman Catholics

Procession to Water Basin
(1) Greeting
(2) Collect Prayer: "Lord, Jesus Christ"
Liturgy of the Word
(3) Responsorial Psalm/Lection from Isaiah 55:1–13
(4) Responsorial Psalm/Epistle (1 Cor. 10:1–4)
(5) Acclamation/Gospel (Mark 1:9–11)
(6) Homily
Liturgy of Water Blessing
(7) Intercessions—adapted from synapte
(8) Prayer of the blessing of water: "God our God"
(9) Hymn: "Voice of the Lord" or "Let us the faithful"
Celebrant sprinkles people with water, people draw water
(10) Dismissal

(1) Greeting: Beginning the rite with a greeting conforms to the common practice of the Roman rite today.

(2) Collect Prayer: The insertion of the prayer "Lord, Jesus Christ," which is customarily quietly recited by the celebrant during the intonation of the synapte in the

[40] Ibid., p. 148.

Byzantine rite, introduces all the main themes of the water blessing, thus providing a theological context for the assembly. The prayer also previews the ritual action of sprinkling the blessed water, and reminds the assembly that Christ's priesthood grounds the ritual, since the prayer implies that Christ is the authentic presider.

(3–5) Psalms, Acclamation, Readings: The inclusion of three readings accompanied by customary psalmody acknowledges the Western Christian emphasis on the Liturgy of the Word at all solemn and sacramental celebrations. The psalmody invites ritual participation from those for whom the rite is new, and also integrates the anamnesis of Jesus' baptism into the ritual, which leads to the epiclesis of the chief prayer. The readings are taken from the Byzantine rite.[41] The selection of the Byzantine readings would avoid repeating the readings for the Mass at the Baptism of the Lord for all three lectionary years, with the exception of the Gospel for Year B (Mark 1:7–11).

(6) Homily: Including the homily again accentuates the Western priority of the Liturgy of the Word, and also provides the presider with an opportunity to catechize the people on the significance of the water blessing ritual, as appropriate for the occasion.

(7) Intercessions: Including intercessions in this position exhibits value for the Roman rite's intercessions for the elect on the Sundays of scrutiny, the litany of saints preceding the blessing of baptismal waters, and the prayer of the faithful before the presentation of the gifts in the Eucharist.[42] The language of the intercessions slightly differs from a typical Roman form, as the Roman language has a stronger emphasis on the transformation of the people.[43] However, the Byzantine intercessions help explain the meaning of the ritual by echoing the "Great are You" prayer, which conforms to the priority of promoting assembly participation.[44]

(8) Prayer of water blessing: The choice of the old Constantinopolitan courtyard prayer, "God our God," may seem odd given the significant influence the "Great are You" prayer had on the liturgical theology of the Epiphany water blessing. The selection of "God our God" is safe for several reasons. First, it is very brief, which fulfills the chief criterion of revising rites with clarity and brevity. Second, it is much less complex than "Great are You" in both structure and content. There are no particular issues addressed in the prayer as one finds in "Great are You," which clearly addresses Christ. Consequently, there are no overt epicletic issues which could ignite debate. "God our God" does not explicate the Father or the Son, and draws upon both Old Testament and New Testament motifs in asking God to sanctity the waters. The blessings of the epiclesis are also exactly the same as those of "Great are You." For a seamless adaptation, the selection of "God

---

41 See *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 349–51.

42 For an example, see the prayer for the elect at the second scrutiny, *The Rites of the Catholic Church*, trans. International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1976), no. 170 (pp. 77–78).

43 "That they may find and maintain freedom of mind and heart in faithfulness to the truth of Christ, let us pray to the Lord," ibid.

44 For all the Byzantine petitions, see *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 351–2.

our God" is most pastorally sensible. The full text of "Great are You" should be included as a supplement for communities who wish to integrate more of the Eastern tradition into their prayer.

Rite of Blessing of Waters in the Church of England

As part of the Epiphany season, the Church of England celebrates a "Service for the Festival of the Baptism of Christ."[45] The service is celebrated on the Festival of the Baptism of Christ and it integrates Jesus' baptism into the Western Epiphany feast recalling the Magi. The notes preceding the text of the rite offer flexibility on the time for celebrating the service. Its celebration on the Festival of the Baptism of Christ is preferred, but it can be used at any point of the Epiphany season, or on the Epiphany feast itself.[46]

Table 9.4 Anglican "Service for the Festival of the Baptism of Christ"

- Introduction & Greeting
- Opening Prayer: "Grant us, Lord"[47]
- Antiphon; acclamation; procession of gifts to crib
- Gospel (Matthew 2:1, 2, 8–11)
- Gifts placed before crib; Prayer ("Eternal God"); Hymns and carols (optional)
- Antiphon ("I saw the holy city")
- Offering of chalice with wine, acclamation ("Blessed are you")[48]
- Procession to holy table with chalice of wine; Gospel (John 2:1–11)
- Gifts placed before crib; prayer; hymns and carols (optional)
- Antiphon; water brought forth; acclamation
- Procession with water to font; Gospel (Mark 1:1–11 (or 1.4,5,7–11).
- Pouring of water; Prayer[49]

[45] Conveniently available in .pdf format, "Epiphany," belonging to the Common Worship collection of liturgical resources, The Church of England, http://www.churchofengland.org/media/41154/tandsepiphany.pdf (accessed August 18, 2011).

[46] Ibid.

[47] "Grant us, Lord, who behold your glory, to drink from the waters of the new creation flowing from the river of life at your baptism. Give us the wings of the Spirit, that we may hasten to meet you at your coming, and praise you, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever," ibid.

[48] "Blessed are you, Lord our God, King of the universe: for the marriage of the Lamb has come. Make your Church ready, and clothe her with the righteous deeds of the saints, to join the praises of your new creation," ibid.

[49] I present the text of the prayer here due to its great length. It begins with a dialogue customary of Eucharistic prayers ("The Lord be with you, lift us your hearts, let us give thanks"), and proceeds as follows: "It is indeed right, it is our duty and our joy, at all times

- Renewal of Covenant; Lord's Prayer
- Sprinkling of water; Sending Out[50]

The "Service for the Festival of the Baptism of Christ" celebrated by the Church of England is a viable option for Western Christians for several reasons. First, the service is faithful to the Western theological tradition of Epiphany as a celebration of the Magi and the wedding at Cana of Galilee. The three Gospel readings effectively connect the Christmas and Epiphany cycles by recalling the visitation of the Magi and Jesus' baptism in the Jordan. The Johannine account of the wedding at Cana of Galilee as the central Gospel establishes a proclamation of the nuptial theology of the feast, where the Church as bride greets her bridegroom, who then comes to bless the waters. The celebration includes both the Eucharistic offering of wine and the blessing of waters, themes cohering with both the Western and Eastern theological traditions of Epiphany and Theophany.

Like the West Syrian and Coptic rites for the blessing of Epiphany waters, the blessing of water in the Anglican rite is expressed through a Eucharistic structure, wherein the Church offers water to receive Christ in return. The main prayer for the blessing of water contains a series of poetic "todays" in brackets taken directly from the Byzantine rite.[51] The president sprinkles the people with water, and the euchology links the blessed water with the people's sanctification. Two aspects of the Anglican service are particularly notable: first, the service clearly indicates that

---

to give you thanks and praise, for today the grace of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descended upon the waters. [Today the sun that never sets has risen and the world is filled with splendor by the light of the Lord. Today the clouds drop down upon all people the dew of righteousness from on high. Today the Uncreated of his own will accept the laying on of hands from his own creature. Today the waters of the Jordan are transformed for healing by the coming of the Lord. Today the blinding mist of the world is dispersed by the Epiphany of our God. Today things above keep feast with things below, and things below commune with things above.] Therefore, heavenly Father, accept our sacrifice of praise, and by the power of your life-giving Spirit sanctify these waters of your new creation, that we, with all who have been born anew by water and the Spirit, may be renewed in your image, walk by the light of faith, and serve you in newness of life. Through your anointed Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with you and the Holy Spirit we lift our voices of praise," ibid., p. 190. The text includes an optional prayer.

[50] "May God, who in Christ gives us a spring of water welling up to eternal life, perfect in you the image of his glory; and the blessing of God almighty the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be among you and remain with you always," ibid. The service provides an alternate version of the sending out on p. 193.

[51] Compare ibid., p. 190, with *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 353–4.

the water is intended for those who are already baptized.[52] Second, the dismissal shows that those who have received this sanctification are to bring it and offer it to the world. As participants go into the world, they are reminded that Christ is their ultimate destiny, a strong eschatological motif emphasizing that Baptism culminates with eternal union with Christ.

In conclusion, the proposed order for a Roman Catholic blessing of waters should be tested in Catholic communities before being fully implemented. Leaders will have to explain how the blessing of waters is a celebration of Baptism, and is compatible with the blessing of baptismal waters at the Easter Vigil. Celebrating the blessing of waters on the feast of the Baptism of the Lord will demonstrate a Western recognition of the polysemy of baptismal symbols. For Western Christians, it will serve as an opportunity to expand their recognition of soteriological motifs rooted in baptism outside of the death/resurrection motif of Romans: 6. Thus, the benefits of implementing a Roman version of the blessing of waters immensely outweigh the obstacles. Western Christians searching for meaningful ritual expressions of the renewal of baptismal vows find it in the Epiphany blessing of waters. Furthermore, the ritual acts of receiving the water via sprinkling, anointing, and drinking should be eagerly embraced by Christians who value the sacramentality of water. For Western Christians desiring a rite for the blessing of waters that represents the full Western theological tradition of Epiphany, the Anglican "Service for the Festival of the Baptism of Christ" is suitable. Its contents acknowledge select aspects of Eastern theology of Theophany, and its integration of the blessing of waters into the Epiphany season will be familiar to Western Christians.

Extra-ecclesial Ecological Stewardship

Theologians have been searching for ways to articulate a genuinely Christian perspective of ecological stewardship in contemporary literature. The celebration of the liturgy has proven to be a primary vehicle for finding expressions of ecology and cosmology, with theologians seeking to draw from the tradition and simultaneously revise its occasionally antiquated notions of the universe. Catholic theologians have been at the forefront of showing how a sacramentality rooted in a theology of creation actually grounds liturgical celebration.[53] Lutheran theologian Gordon Lathrop likewise attempts to construct a Christian cosmology

---

[52] "That we, with all who have been born anew with water and the Spirit, may be renewed in your image," ibid., p. 190.

[53] See Kevin W. Irwin, "A Sacramental World—Sacramentality As the Primary Language for Sacraments, *Worship* 76 (2002), pp. 97–111. Also see a collection of essays in Denis Edwards (ed.), *Earth Revealing—Earth Healing: Ecology and Christian Theology* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2001).

from a liturgical perspective.[54] The current ecumenical Patriarch of the Orthodox Church enjoys a reputation as a "green" patriarch, due to his consistent promotion of Christian ecological stewardship.[55] These select examples illustrate how ecological stewardship has entered the collective consciousness of the ecumenical Christian community. Christians are engaging their theological heritage to develop a perspective on ecology that benefits the world and enters into a dialogue with proponents of ecology outside of the Church.

The blessing of waters contributes to the task of developing an authentic Christian perspective on ecology and developing a new ethos of water. As a whole, it has value both for the Church faithful and for those outside of the Church. Lathrop's examples on how liturgy engages cosmology are instructive for interpreting the Epiphany blessing of waters. Lathrop affirms the Christian understanding of God's uncircumscribed holiness in his discussion of encounter, where Christians are called to "taste and see" God, and receive word that they stand on holy ground.[56] Lathrop also acknowledges that Christian liturgy retains a flawed cosmology, untouched by scientific developments in astronomy, and often exhibiting a vision of the universe as geo-centric.[57] Lathrop cautions against overstating the bounds of the liturgy in articulating a liturgical cosmology, since "only one is holy," and the liturgy is not God.[58] His thesis coincides well with Irwin's, who explains that Christian symbols used in sacramental celebration reveal God, but God also remains hidden in the symbol, a mystery that cannot be completely opened.[59] Thus, liturgy affirms the presence of God in creation and engages it, but God remains uncontainable, and liturgy directs the assembly towards a desire for complete union which can only be realized in the next life.

The blessing of waters reveals a beautiful theology of creation and a patristic cosmology that is instructive for theology. The "Great are You" prayer establishes the theme for the Epiphany blessing's cosmology by envisioning the universe's worship of Christ.[60] Neither the sun nor the earth is the center of the cosmos. Instead, Christ is the center of the universe, established by the Old Testament creation motif

---

[54] Gordon W. Lathrop, *Holy Ground: A Liturgical Cosmology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

[55] Patriarch Bartholomew, *Cosmic Grace, Humble Prayer: The Ecological Vision of the Green Patriarch Bartholomew*, ed. John Chryssvagis, foreword John Zizioulas (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

[56] Lathrop, pp. 3–4.

[57] Ibid., p. 5. Also see Catherine Vincie, "The Challenge of the New Science to Liturgy," *Worship* 83 (2009), pp. 19–30.

[58] Lathrop, p. 219.

[59] Irwin, "A Sacramental World," p. 203.

[60] "The sun sings your praises; the moon glorifies you; the stars supplicate before you; the light obeys you; the deeps are afraid at your presence; the fountains are your servants," BAR no. 131, Appendix D.

preceding this section,[61] and the appearance of God in his nativity and entrance into the Jordan.[62] In fact, most of the initial praise-anamnesis (D-1) section of the prayer focuses on creation as humanity knows it, with humanity mentioned only in reference to the incarnation and the need to be delivered from the devil.[63]

The anamnetic-doxologies (D-3) of "Great are You" expand the cosmology by including humanity with creation. However, creation retains its significance in the reference to Old Testament events where God saved humanity, because in each instance, salvation occurred through the instrumentality of water. God uses God's holy creation to save humans. The following phrase elaborates how God uses several earthly components to save humanity: "You are our God who cleft the rock in the wilderness: the waters gushed out, the streams overflowed, and you satisfied your thirsty people."[64] The wilderness is the context, and the people are thirsty; God addresses this problem by cleaving a rock to provide drinking water.[65] The phrase glorifies God for this act and is thus doxological, but the inclusion of creation in each act should not be overlooked. Humanity encounters God's goodness through creation.

BAR's prologue confirms and amplifies this liturgical cosmology because liturgical anamnesis anticipates an epiclesis, that God would work the same wonders to bless God's people today. Verses 2 through 6 of BAR's Prologue offer a poetic reflection on creation's anamnesis of Jesus' entrance into the Jordan:

> (2) Today the heavens delight in raining dew upon the earth.
> (3) Today the never-setting sun appears and the world is illuminated.
> (4) Today the moon shines on the world with the brightness of its rays.
> (5) Today the luminous stars beautify the world.
> (6) Today the clouds give the dew of righteousness to mankind from the heavens.[66]

---

[61] "For you by your own will have brought all things out of nothingness into being, by your power you hold together the creation, and by your providence you govern the world. Of four elements have you compounded the creation: with four seasons have you crowned the circuit of the year," ibid.

[62] "You have hallowed a virgin womb by your nativity. At your epiphany the whole creation sang your praises. For you, our God, have appeared on earth and dwelt among men, you have sanctified the streams of the Jordan, sending down from on high the most Holy Spirit," ibid.

[63] "For you, o master, in your merciful compassion could not bear to see humankind beneath the tyranny of the devil, but you have come and saved us. We confess your grace, we proclaim your mercy, we hide not your beneficence. You have set free the offspring of our kind," ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Exodus 17.

[66] BAR no. 129.1–2, translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 353–4, see Appendix C for complete text.

In the context of the entire text, these verses precede the anamnesis of Christ's coming to deliver humanity from captivity to evil.[67] Provision occurs through the elements of creation. The heavens rain dew, the sun and moon provide light, the stars are beautiful. But none of the elements can save humanity by themselves. The elements rejoice in the coming salvation in Christ, and when he appears, he uses the elements of creation to save humanity. The Epiphany cosmology is thus neither anthropocentric nor geocentric, but theocentric, retaining God as the one who is worshipped throughout the process. The inclusion of the elements as God's instruments is faithful to the Gospel accounts and the two creation stories of Genesis where God assigns humanity to be creation's steward. The Epiphany liturgy reveals a model of ecological stewardship exercised by God and freely given to humanity, so that in proper cosmic stewardship, creation can truly rejoice that God and humanity has understood it to be good.

This liturgical cosmology of the Epiphany blessing does not address every ecological issue, but it provides a source for pastoral reflection on Christian ecological stewardship. Christian ecological stewardship is the natural human response to an expression of theocentric liturgical cosmology. It can be no other way for a community that asks God to bless waters that will truly heal and sanctify those who draw from them. The blessing of waters, along with other sacramental celebrations using earthly elements, brings the material to the state for which God had created it.[68] Participating in the liturgical celebration provides the context for shaping people to share God's vision of creation as good, and thus care for it accordingly. Sharing this vision with those outside of the Church and collaborating with them to care for creation is one of the tasks of this stewardship.

The contribution of the blessing of waters to the development of a new ethos of water does not end with acknowledging the ritual's liturgical theology. A true contribution to a new ethos of water can result only from the end-product of epiclesis. When Christians perform the liturgical work of anamnesis and epiclesis, they are confident that God will act, that Jesus will truly enter the waters of the present as he did in salvation history. The end product is a group of people who have been transformed by the encounter with God. Participants in the blessing of waters hear the words, witness to the ritual action, and drink the water with the hope that it will sanctify their souls, bodies, communities, homes, and all their lives. Participants who have received these baptismal blessings anew have been empowered by Christ to witness to the goodness of water and creation, and have been capacitated to share this witness in mission to the world.

---

[67] "7) Today all of the waters spread their back to the feet of the master; 8) Today the invisible one becomes visible in order to manifest himself to us; 9) Today the uncreated one by his own will receives the laying on of hands from his own creation; 10) Today he who does not bow down bows his neck before his servant so that he might release us from slavery," ibid.

[68] Peter Bouteneff, "Sacraments as the Mystery of Union: Elements in an Orthodox Sacramental Theology," in Geoffrey Rowell and Christine Hall (eds), *The Gestures of God: Explorations in Sacramentality* (New York: Continuum, 2004), pp. 103–4.

In humble, yet authentic instances, many Byzantine-rite communities have exercised the capacity to witness to water's goodness and embraced the vision articulated by the blessing of waters. For example, Orthodox Christians in Alaska celebrate the Epiphany blessing of waters on the shores of Six Mile Lake, which connects Lake Iliamna with Lake Clark.[69] The natives depend on the salmon fishing industry, and corporations attempting to establish open pit copper and gold mines will threaten both the environment and the inhabitants' way of life. The celebration of the blessing of waters includes a prophetic function of revealing the local habitat as good. The Church proclaims, through its liturgical cosmology, that God provides for the inhabitants of this region through the water and its fish. This example shows how extra-ecclesial proponents of ecological stewardship could find a willing partner in the Church to preserve creation's proper place in the universe and develop a new ethos of water, rooted in divine identification of water as good.

Conclusion

The history and theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany is not a museum exhibit useful for lovers of history only. A close reading of its history and theology reveals practical applications for pastoral practice. Church leaders can draw from the euchology of the celebration for homiletics and catechetics. Leaders have a special opportunity to draw upon the unique interplay between anamnesis and epiclesis in this rite to show how participants encounter Christ's sanctification of the water in today's ritual celebration. Eastern Christians can restore the solemnity of the blessing of waters on the Epiphany feast by assigning a suitable time for its celebration and preparing an order the local community can comfortably celebrate. The freedom and diversity of its celebration in history allows for flexibility today. I have also offered two models of the blessing of the waters for Western Christians, one for Roman Catholics, and the existing practice of the Church of England during the Epiphany season. A Western celebration of a modified Eastern rite or the Anglican rite can benefit Western Christians who seek to renew their baptismal vows and create more space for ecumenical dialogue on baptism and the divine economy of salvation in liturgy.

The blessing of waters on Epiphany also contains a rich, theocentric liturgical cosmology that contributes to today's heightened need for ecological stewardship. Christians can cooperate with those concerned for the environment to restore creation to its assigned place in the universe, and contribute to the development of a new ethos of water that has the capacity to sustain and save humankind.

---

[69] See "Great Blessing of Water Highlights Threat to Alaska Native Way of Life," Orthodox Church in America, http://www.oca.org/news/2387 (accessed February 1, 2011).

Chapter 10
Conclusion

The goal of this study is to illuminate the place of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the liturgical and theological heritage of the Eastern churches. I have endeavored to accomplish this goal in several ways. First, I present a comprehensive history of the celebration in the Eastern churches, particularly attending to the Byzantine cathedral and Studite-Sabaitic monastic traditions. Second, rigorous analysis of the origins of the "Great are You" prayer has clarified the relationship of the blessing of waters on Epiphany to that of the sanctification of baptismal water. Third, the Christological orientation of the blessing of waters has been shown to reveal an underlying Trinitarian theology of some significance. Fourth, I define the ultimate purpose of the celebration to be the granting of specific blessings to participants which parallel Baptism. Fifth, the liturgy of the blessing of waters is a primary source for pastoral ministry, including catechetics, homiletics, contemporary liturgical celebration, and the development of a new ethos for ecological stewardship. The presentation and analysis of the evidence reveals the blessing of waters on Epiphany to be a sacramental event that enriches liturgy, contributes to theology, emphasizes creation, and reveals water to be God's favored instrument for the salvation of the world.

History of the Blessing of Waters on Epiphany

The examination of the history of the blessing of waters on Epiphany commenced with a review of the prehistory of its celebration in Antioch, Egypt, Jerusalem, Sykeon, and Syria. Fourth-century authors, John Chrysostom and Epiphanius of Salamis, attest to the drawing of water on January 6. The Georgian Lectionary (fifth to eighth centuries) and the sixth-century testimony of Antoninus attest to the celebration of the blessing of waters in Jerusalem. Information from the life of Theodore of Sykeon, reflecting liturgical practice in central Asia Minor, includes the blessing of the waters at the ford of the river, psalms, and the proclamation of readings from the prophets, epistle, and Gospel. A homily by Marutha of Tagrit elaborates the purpose of the seventh-century Syrian celebration. Together, the sources outline a prehistory that contains limited information on the structure of the rite. The most significant things the history produces are its celebration on January 6, frequently outdoors and usually at night, and the drawing and storage of water for the sustenance of the spiritual life in Christ.

Liturgical sources from the eighth through sixteenth centuries reveal three historical stages in the evolution of the blessing of waters. The eighth to tenth

centuries constitute Stage One, the eleventh to thirteenth centuries are Stage Two, and the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries are Stage Three. Stage One presents several core liturgical sources informing us on the development of the blessing of waters. These sources include *B.M. Add. 14.494*, an eighth-century West Syrian liturgical source, *San Lazaro 457*, an Armenian Euchologion of the ninth century, BAR, representing the earliest Byzantine recension of the blessing of waters in the eighth century, and the patriarchal celebration of TGC in the ninth–tenth centuries. Stage One reveals liturgical diversity, with an emphasis on the Johannine motif of the Samaritan woman and Jesus as the eternal source of water in the West Syrian tradition. The Armenian tradition contains orations and poetic hymnography and shares some similarities with the Byzantine rite.

Variety characterizes Stage One in the Byzantine Rite. This is evidenced by diversity in the contents of the Prologues, and by the use of a synapte instead of ektene in *Sinai 957* and *Sinai 958*. The unique liturgical components of local communities appear to be the sources of this diversity. Hymnody, readings, and concluding components vary in content and position. Examples of this include the ektene of BAR and *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, the singing of "Voice of the Lord" at the beginning of *Sinai 958*, and the appointment of the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata X*. The courtyard prayer, "God our God," is also a staple of the Byzantine rite. For the Byzantine rite, Stage One represents a period of some change and variation. The prayers are mostly stable in position and content, but complementary liturgical components vary among sources. Comparative liturgy shows that the West Syrian rite has its own distinct traditions at this stage, including orations and a theological emphasis on Jesus as the eternal source of water. The Armenian rite shares several similarities with the Byzantine, and it is likely that both rites drew from the same family of liturgical sources. For the three rites, Stage One reveals a solemn liturgical celebration, highlighted by the anaphora-like prayer, "Great are You."

Stage Two was a period of considerable development in the celebration of the blessing of waters. West Syrian liturgical sources show a sustained emphasis on the Johannine Christological motif, with several complementary Scripture readings, the appearance of a prayer for healing, "Creator of the Waters," and several signings of the cross over the water. The West Syrian water blessing is intensely solemn, similar to a Eucharistic rite in its structure and style.

In the Byzantine Rite, Stage Two reveals several trends. Some liturgical components become firmly implanted in particular positions, such as hymns and readings commencing the celebration, and the plunging of the cross towards its conclusion. The entrenchment of these components in particular positions represents the influence of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic liturgy on the Byzantine cathedral rite. Several liturgical developments evidence the new monastic hegemony in the Byzantine blessing of waters. The disappearance of the Prologue and "God our God" prayers, the replacement of an opening ektene with the synapte, and the plunging of the cross into the waters are all prevalent in the monastic rite and illustrate the new context in which the rite was celebrated. With

baptismal celebration rare, the blessing of waters served the needs of monastic communities and lost some of its trimmings that were not suitable for the new liturgical context. Even under strong monastic influence, the liturgy still varies in its order among Euchologia, with different texts accompanying the plunging of the cross into the waters. The core prayers remain generally stable in position and content. The rearrangement of variable items in the liturgy, along with the stability of the orations evidences the trend of fusing two rites, the monastic and cathedral. Comparative liturgy shows the mutually exclusive development of the West Syrian and Byzantine rites at this stage, with two exceptions: the prayer "Creator of the Waters" appears in several sources of both rites, and the "Great are You" prayer remains the central oration.

Stage Three concludes my historical presentation of this study. The Maronite rite includes the immersion of flaming charcoal into the waters and the retention of the Johannine story of the Samaritan woman. The Coptic rite has a strong Christological trajectory, with "Great are You" recited in a traditional anaphoral structure and numerous gestures of blessing the water with a cross containing lit torches. The Byzantine rite represents the reappearance of liturgical material from Stage One. *Sinai 991*, *Sinai 974*, and *Athos Kostamonitos 60* contain the Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," which occurred in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* and *Grottaferrata Gb X*. *Sinai 974* contains a plethora of liturgical material, including the Prologue "Glory to You Christ our God" which occurs in *Grottaferrata Gb X*, and the prayer "The Heavenly Principles," which occurs sporadically in Stages One and Two. For the Byzantine rite, Stage Three represents an instance of Taft's "law of the paradox of the periphery," as local ecclesial communities tend to resist change in favor of older liturgical usages.[1]

In summary, there is no single universal order for the celebration of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern rites. In the West Syrian and Byzantine rites, the liturgy of blessing the Epiphany waters develops in harmony with ecclesial context. Many of the variable components such as hymns, readings, and secondary orations change positions or disappear, but the core components and central theological expression of the rites remain consistent throughout history. Stability within steady liturgical development is most evident in Stage Two of the Byzantine rite. The liturgy was increasingly monasticized under the steadying influence of the Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition, but local communities still retained traditional liturgical components. The changes that do occur are not usually wholesale, but reflect "fine tuning," adjustments made locally for unknown reasons.[2] In conclusion, this historical trend emphasizes the solemnity of the festal Epiphany celebration. Liturgies change as the contexts of their native communities develop, but the most solemn liturgical seasons are resilient, and in each rite, eloquent euchology represented by the variants of the "Great are You"

---

[1] See law no. 18 in Robert Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," pp. 214–15.

[2] Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, pp. 55–6.

prayer and ritual action represented by diverse expressions of blessing the waters with objects made from creation reveal the solemnity of the occasion. If history speaks for itself, it reveals the blessing of waters on Epiphany to be a sacramental event in the West Syrian, Armenian, Byzantine, Maronite, and Coptic traditions.

The Origins of the "Great are You" Prayer

Throughout this study, I have consistently identified the "Great are You" prayer as the central component of the blessing of waters. Chapter Six particularly attends to scholarly contributions on the history of the "Great are You" prayer in the baptismal blessing of waters. Sebastian Brock provides an important insight into the development of the prayer by identifying the baptismal version of D-2 as an interpolation of a pneumatic epiclesis that occurred in the milieu of the Council of Constantinople (AD 381). Most scholars, with the exception of Scheidt, agree that the Epiphany version of "Great are You" is probably based on the baptismal original, with Epiphany additions composed to elaborate festal activities.

A close reading of the complete Epiphany text of "Great are You" and the relationships between its varying sections resulted in my hypothesis on the development of the Epiphany version of the prayer. My hypothesis confirms Brock's and Arranz's identification of the prayer as originally baptismal. Its earliest structure consisted of "praise anamnesis," exorcism, and epiclesis (non-pneumatic) sections, which parallels the typical structure of an Antiochene anaphora. The Epiphany "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) are misplaced in the Epiphany version of "Great are You," an anamnesis following an epiclesis. The Epiphany "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) suggest that "Great are You" came to be used for the blessing of waters on Epiphany. It is likely that editors interpolated D-3 into the prayer's structure since the exorcism was not needed to protect baptizands during the Epiphany blessing of waters. The "anamnetic doxologies" (D-3) text is probably a fragment from an Epiphany prayer no longer in existence. Editors also revised the end of the pneumatic epiclesis (D-2) to conform to the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The "epiclesis extension" (D-4) was likely composed shortly thereafter to place an allusion to the first epiclesis (D-2) after the anamnetic D-3. My hypothesis builds upon and further extends the previous work done by Brock and Arranz, and proceeds from a study of the historical relationships between the structural components of the prayer. The prayer's resemblance to an Antiochene-type anaphora strengthens these conclusions.

Christological Orientation and Trinitarian Theology

The blessing of waters is distinctly Christological. An analysis of the "Great are You" prayer demonstrates a Christological priority in D-1, which recalls Christ's taking on the form of a servant, birth, and Baptism. Heortology has a special role in reinforcing the Christological priority. The heortology of Christ's baptism in the Jordan permeates the fabric of the entire liturgy. The Coptic version of "Great are

You" specifically calls upon Christ to bless the waters. My analysis of the epiclesis (D-2) further bolsters the Christological dimension, as the assembly invokes Christ to sanctify the waters by the descent of his Holy Spirit. An interpretation of the epiclesis as addressing Christ depends on the recollection of his historical entrance into the waters, which accentuates the significance of heortology as a hermeneutic for interpreting the liturgical celebration.

My close analysis of the Byzantine rite yields more evidence confirming the water blessing's Christological emphasis. Select variants of the ektene and synapte contain petitions which address Christ and draw upon allusions to his economy of salvation. Verses from the Prologue support the Christological dimension, attributing the blessing of the waters to Christ's entrance into the waters of the Jordan. The prayer "Lord Jesus Christ," which concludes the ektene/synapte, directly addresses Christ and asks him to act. In summary, the liturgical context is distinctly Christological, with the components consistently calling upon Christ to initiate divine activity in blessing the waters.

The blessing of waters defines the roles of the Father and the Spirit, as the Father actively bears witness and the Holy Spirit manifests Christ. The liturgy of blessing waters establishes these roles with an anamnesis of the Gospel account, where the Spirit appears and the voice of the Father speaks after Jesus has entered the waters. The blessing of waters thus produces a Trinitarian theology that coheres with the emphasis on Christ initiating divine activity.

A close examination of the Byzantine rite evidences several liturgical components that articulate a specific Trinitarian theology of the blessing of waters. Trinitarian verses in D-3 of "Great are You," the ektene, and the apologetic Prologue "Uncreated Trinity" reveal a Trinitarian emphasis. Furthermore, D-3 recalls several events from the economy of salvation, including the instrumentality of water throughout history. These allusions collectively define the blessing of waters as a work of the Trinity which is initiated by Christ, and should be interpreted as a divine act culminating all of God's previous salvation of his people through water.

The blessing of waters provides a unique opportunity for a renewed approach to discussing Trinitarian theology in ecumenical contexts. The blessing of waters offers a paradigm of divine activity performed by the entire Holy Trinity, with Christ as the initiator and author whose presence blesses the waters by the descent of the Holy Spirit. This paradigm modifies the notion common to East and West that all liturgical prayer addresses the Father, as the prayer of this celebration consistently addresses Christ. This does not entail the absence of the Father from the Trinitarian economy operating in the blessing of the waters. The Trinitarian model based on the monarchy of the Father is not overturned by the implications of this liturgy, as the Father's role as the source of being is not compromised. The liturgy of blessing the waters follows the pattern of its New Testament narrative, where Christ enters the waters and blesses them, with the Spirit and Father testifying to Christ's divine activity. The liturgy faithfully follows the New Testament model by invoking Christ to enter the waters now as then and bless them, with the Spirit testifying to Christ's activity. Thus, the Epiphany celebration

provides a hermeneutic for considering an alternative view of the work of the Trinity for humankind, one that concerns the Church's dialogue with Christ as head as a point of departure.

Boris Bobrinskoy's notion of the presidency of Christ as mediator provides a potential starting point for discussion on Trinitarian activity in the liturgy. Mediation implies two dialogues, one between the Church and Christ, and another between Christ and the Father. Bobrinskoy's idea fits the paradigm offered by the blessing of waters because it provides the freedom for the Church to ask Christ to initiate divine activity. The Father is present and active in his dialogue with Christ. The Epiphany model is significant because it reveals that liturgical prayer can be legitimately directed towards Christ without violating the tenets of Trinitarian theology. The model also suggests that new insights into Trinitarian theology might be discovered by further analysis of the blessing of waters.

Reception of Spiritual Blessings

In the blessing of waters, the Church asks Christ to act, and then professes its belief that he has granted participants numerous blessings. My analysis of D-2 and D-4 of the "Great are You" prayer identifies several spiritual gifts participants receive, including deliverance and protection from sin and evil, bodily and spiritual healing, and sanctification. The epiclesis of the baptismal blessing of waters asks God to grant the exact same blessings to baptizands. My analysis focuses on the gestures and actions that define participation in the blessing of waters on Epiphany, which differentiates it from the rite of Baptism. Participants in the blessing of waters on Epiphany touch, are anointed by, sprinkled with, and partake of the blessed water. These forms of participation allow the assembly to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit through the water.

An examination of the Byzantine rite demonstrates the presence of numerous requests for spiritual blessing, echoing the epicletic texts of "Great are You," woven throughout the entire liturgical context. Petitions from the ektene/synapte both paraphrase and parallel the text of the epiclesis in requesting deliverance from sin, protection from evil, and especially healing of soul and body. The use of blessed water in Byzantine ecclesiastical history demonstrates a cultural belief in the healing properties of blessed water. The use of Epiphany waters for the reconciliation of penitents on select feast days in monastic communities and in medieval Russia accentuates their properties of spiritual healing.

The Eastern liturgical tradition complements the epicletic texts of "Great are You" with diverse gestures of blessing the Epiphany waters. The Armenian rite blesses the water with myrrh, the Maronites use flaming coals, and the West Syrians and Copts use the sign of the cross numerous times. In the Byzantine rite, the plunging of the cross into the water is accompanied by numerous texts. The most significant text is the baptismal Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined" from Stages One and Three. Themes expressed by the "God our God" prayer and the ektene reveal the plunging of the cross as a rich symbol, with consistent

reference to scriptural stories in which God provided drinkable water for his people. The action elaborates the use of instruments with water as an affirmation of God's bodily and spiritual provision for his people, and coincides with the specifically Epiphany usage of the water. Perhaps most significantly, the action of plunging the cross into the water symbolizes the assembly's anamnesis of Jesus' historical entrance into the Jordan, an accentuation of his consecrating action. The anamnesis establishes the epiclesis, which the plunging of the cross culminates.

This study demonstrates an apparently obvious fact: baptismal themes proliferate throughout the blessing of waters on Epiphany. The two share the same epiclesis and request the same spiritual blessings, which underscores their common purpose. Yet the blessing of waters on Epiphany is not limited to a reproduction of baptismal themes. The analysis of the assembly's participation in the ritual shows its originality. The use of the baptismal Troparion "Great is the Cross that Shined," along with numerous baptismal themes woven throughout the liturgy's liturgical components, reveals Epiphany as a feast on which baptisms were celebrated in some communities, confirmed by the rubrics for January 6 in TGC. Those who are sprinkled and anointed by the sanctified water, who touch and partake of it receive the spiritual blessings for post-baptismal spiritual sustenance. Participants keep the water for the sanctification of their homes and every expedient purpose. The Epiphany waters were used for bodily and spiritual healing, and as part of the process of the reconciliation of penitents. The Troparion "Voice of the Lord" states that participation results in receiving the Holy Spirit, while other examples show that Christ transforms the waters into a place that grants regeneration to participants. Participants receive the gift of sanctification, resulting in the reception of the Holy Spirit, a unique encounter with God through his natural symbol of water.

The blessing of waters on Epiphany thus constitutes an elaboration of Baptism, affording participants the opportunity to enliven the blessings received at Baptism and return to life in the Spirit by participating in a sacramental event that reminds them of a life they may have forgotten or abandoned. The liturgy's solemnity, spiritual gifts, and similarity to Baptism and Eucharist characterize it as sacramental, a liturgical event wherein the Church encounters God and experiences a type of communion with God, resulting in the sanctification of humanity. Creation's participation and transformation is highlighted throughout the liturgy, underscoring its cosmic magnitude. My analysis of the blessing of waters on Epiphany suggests that an encounter with God and the reception of sanctification are not limited to a prescribed number of sacraments, but can occur in a variety of liturgical celebrations. This warrants a spirit of openness in defining sacramentality and suggests the importance of recovering a patristic understanding of what constitutes a sacramental event.

The Blessing of Waters and Pastoral Stewardship

In Chapter Nine, I stated that the goal of liturgical history is not to restore antiquated models of the past, but to attain a better understanding of liturgical development.

My examination of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical tradition reveals numerous ritual variances, many of which are impossible to reconcile. The ritual and euchological diversity of the rite provides several opportunities for the student and scholar to contemplate Eastern Christianity's attempt to grasp how and why God saves humanity through water. The Church has drawn from the richness of Scripture to remember how God has acted to save and sustain humanity through water, and asks God to continue this salvation today through ritual enactment, by plunging crosses, fire, and coal into the water, asking God for baptismal blessings, and then assiduously preserving the blessed water in their homes to use when circumstances require it.

The Eastern liturgical tradition essentially defines water as God-bearing, a worthy dwelling place for the son of God. An anamnesis of Jesus' entrance into the Jordan and creation's delight at his appearance grounds this theology of water as holy. A theology of water as God-bearing is potent for those who would request clean, saving water to live. The West Syrian Johannine Gospel lection recalling Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman and his declaration that he is the source of living water aptly captures the Epiphany theme of water as holy. The liturgy's narratives from Scripture, hymns, and prayers depict creation as rejoicing in Christ's entrance into the Jordan. Pastors and scholars can consult this analysis as a source for study and creating initiatives on how theology has the capacity to reveal creation's original state of goodness. Every student of liturgy, both professional and amateur, can recognize the potential of the blessing of waters to contribute to developing a new ethos in global ecological stewardship. Sharing with others the Epiphany image of water as God's dwelling place and preferred instrument of salvation, the element of creation Eastern Christians have traditionally revered and preserved, is an imperative I hope this study has made available to all.

Conclusion

In the introduction, I stated that this study of the history and theology of the blessing of waters on Epiphany in the Eastern liturgical tradition poses possibilities for heortology, sacramental theology, and ecumenical theology. This investigation accomplishes this goal by establishing the historical development of the blessing of waters on Epiphany and articulating the unicity of its liturgical theology. The blessing of waters has a rich history and theology, and makes a significant contribution to the study of Eastern liturgy because of its Christological orientation, heortology, and articulation of spiritual gifts granted to participants. These conclusions reveal the blessing of waters on Epiphany as a great solemnity in the life of the Church that continued to develop and express a vibrant theology based on Christ's baptism in the Jordan, resulting in the sanctification of humankind and the cosmos.

Appendix A

BAR Diakonika, Ektene (BAR no. 127, 1–19)

Translated by author

(1) Let us say: Lord, have mercy.	(1) Εἴπωμεν πάντες• Κύριε ἐλέησον.
(2) O God Father almighty, who knows all things before their generation, and who has called them from nothingness into existence, we pray to you.	(2) Ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πρὶν γενέσεως ἐπιστάμενος τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι καλέσας, δεόμεθα. (Wisdom 1:14)
(3) You who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth upon the waters, we pray to you.	(3) Ὁ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐκτείνας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων θεμελιώσας, δεόμεθα. (Psalm 103:2, 5)
(4) You who planted Paradise in Eden, to the east, and caused four fountains of running water to gush forth in it, we pray to you.	(4) Ὁ παράδεισον φυτεύσας ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ τετράρρυτον πηγὴν πηγάσας ἐν αὐτῷ, δεόμεθα. (Genesis 2:8)
(5) You who blessed and multiplied the flock of the Patriarch Jacob by rod and water, we pray to you.	(5) Ὁ τὴν ποίμνην τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακὼβ ῥάβδῳ καὶ ὕδατι εὐλογήσας καὶ πληθύνας, δεόμεθα. (Genesis 30:25–43)
(6) You who revealed the three persons of the single godhead to us through Elijah the Tishbite through the threefold pouring out of the waters, we pray to you.	(6) Ὁ διὰ Ἠλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου διὰ τοῦ τρισσαίου τῆς ἐκχύσεως τῶν ὑδάτων τὴν τρισυπόστατον τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος ἡμῖν ἀναδείξας, δεόμεθα. (1 Kings 18:34)
(7) You who spoke to Isaiah the prophet who told us: "joyfully draw water from the fount of salvation," we pray to you.	(7) Ὁ διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου εἰρηκώτος ἡμῖν• ἀντλήσατε ὕδωρ μετ᾽ εὐφροσύνες ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ σωτηρίου, δεόμεθα. (Isaiah 12:4)
(8) You who bowed your undefiled head to the Forerunner John and were baptized in the streams of the Jordan, we pray to you.	(8) Ὁ τῷ προδρόμῳ Ἰωάννῃ ὑποκλίνας τὴν ἄχραντόν σου κορυφὴν καὶ ἐν ῥείθροις Ἰορδάνου βαπτισθείς, δεόμεθα.
(9) You, whom the sea saw and fled, [before whom] the Jordan turned back, we pray to you.	(9) Ὃν ἡ θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἔφυγεν, ὁ Ἰορδάνης ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, δεόμεθα.
(10) The waters saw you, o God, the waters saw you and were afraid, we pray to you.	(10) Εἴδοσάν σε ὕδατα, ὁ θεός, εἴδοσάν σε ὕδατα καὶ εφοβήθησαν, δεόμεθα.
(11) That we would be blessed by every spiritual blessing, we pray to you.	(11) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐλογηθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ, δεόμεθα.

Appendix A: *Concluded*

(12) That these waters would be blessed by the descent, and power and operation of the Holy Spirit, we pray to you.	(12) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐλογηθῆναι τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεόμεθα.
(13) That they would be sanctified as the streams of the Jordan, we pray to you.	(13) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐλογηθῆναι αὐτὰ ὡς τὰ Ἰορδάνεια ῥεῖθρα, δεόμεθα.
(14) That the cleansing operation of the supersubstantial Trinity would come down upon these waters, we pray to you.	(14) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταφοιτῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν τούτοις τὴν καθαρτικὴν τῆς ὑπερουσίου Τριάδος εὐεργεσίαν, δεόμεθά σου.
(15) That they would be for the purification of souls and bodies for all of those who draw and partake of these waters, we pray to you.	(15) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς καθαρισμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀρυομένοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν, δεόμεθα.
(16) Save us, o God, by your epiphany, and hearken to us, we pray.	(16) Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῇ σῇ, καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, δεόμεθα.
(17) That we would be delivered from every…	(17) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης.
(18) Have mercy on us, o God, according to your great mercy, we pray to you, Lord.	(18) Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος σου, δεόμεθά σου, κύριε.

Appendix B

Prayer, "Lord, Jesus Christ" (BAR no. 128.1, 2)

Translation based on The Festal Menaion, p. 353.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son, who art in the bosom of the father, true God, spring of life and immortality, light of light, who came into the world to enlighten it, shine upon our understanding with your Holy Spirit and accept us who offer unto you glory and thanksgiving for all your great and wondrous works from all ages, and for your saving dispensation in these last times. For you have clothed yourself in our poor and infirm nature, and have submitted yourself to servitude, you who are king of all; and moreover you have accepted to be baptized in the Jordan by the hand of a servant, that having sanctified the nature of the waters, o sinless one, you might lead us to a new birth through water and Spirit, and restore us again to our original freedom. Keeping feast in remembrance of this divine mystery, we entreat you, o master who loves humankind: sprinkle upon us, your unworthy servants, according to your divine promise, cleansing water, the gift of your compassion; grant that the petition of us sinners over this water may be acceptable unto your goodness, and that thereby your blessing may be granted to us and to all your faithful people unto the glory of your holy and venerated name. *Aloud*: For unto you are due all glory, together with your Father who is without beginning, and your most holy, good, and lifecreating Spirit, now…	Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός, ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦ φωτίσαι αὐτόν, [καὶ] καταύγασον ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου πνεύματι, καὶ πρόσδεξαι ἡμᾶς μεγαλωσύνην καὶ εὐχαριστίαν σοι προσάγοντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος θαυμασίοις σου μεγαλουργήμασιν, καὶ τῇ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῶν αἰώνων σωτηρίῳ σου οἰκονομίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἡμῶν ἀσθενὲς καὶ πτωχὸν περιβαλόμενος φύραμα καὶ τοῖς τῆς δουλείας μέτροις συγκατιών, ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων βασιλεύς, ἔτι καὶ δουλικῇ χειρὶ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπέμεινας ἵνα τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων φύσιν ἁγιάσας, ὁ ἀναμάρτητος, ὁδοποιήσῃς ἡμῖν τὴν δι᾽ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγέννησιν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἡμᾶς ἀποκαταστήσῃς ἐλευθερίαν· οὕτινος θείου μυστηρίου τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἑορτάζοντες, δεόμεθά σου, φιλάνρωπε δέσποτα, ῥᾶνον ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου, κατὰ τὴν θείαν σου ἐπαγγελίαν, ὕδωρ καθαρὸν τῆς σῆς εὐσπλγχνίας τὴν δωρεάν, εἰς τὸ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ αἴτησιν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εὐπρόσδεκτον γενέσθαι τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν σου δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν τε καὶ παντὶ τῷ πιστῷ σου χαρισθῆναι λαῷ, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σου ὀνόματος. *Ἐκφώ(νησις)*· Σοὶ γὰρ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρὶ καὶ τῷ συναϊδίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν…

Appendix C

Prologue 1: "Uncreated Trinity" (BAR no. 129.1, 2)

Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, pp. 353–4

Prologue of the Holy Theophany which is said up until the "Great are you, Lord." Uncreated Trinity, one in essence, sovereign, all-powerful, omniscient, invisible, incomprehensible, uncircumscribed, maker of spiritual beings and rational natures, innate goodness, unapproachable light that lightens each man that comes into the world, shine also on me, your unworthy servant, enlighten the eyes of my understanding, that I may make bold to sing your measureless beneficence and power. May the prayer that I offer for the people present here be acceptable, that my errors would not hinder your all-Holy Spirit from coming to this place, but allow me, good one, uncondemned to cry to you and say:	Πρόλογος τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανῶν λεγόμενος πρὸ τοῦ Μέγας εἶ, Κύριε Τριὰς ἄκτιστε, ὁμοούσιε, ἄναρχε, παντοδύμανε, παντεπίσκοπε, ἀόρατε, ἀκατάληπτε, ἀτελεύτητε, δημιουργέ τῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ των λογικῶν φύσεων, ἡ ἔμφυτος ἀγαθότης, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἔκλαμψαι καμοὶ τῷ ἀναξίῳ δούλῳ σου, φώτιζόν μου τῆς δινοίας τὰ ὄμματα, ὅπως ἀνυμνῆσαι τολμήσω τὴν ἀμέτρητόν σου εὐεργεσίαν καὶ δύναμιν. Εὐπρόσδεκτος γενέσω ἡ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δέησις διὰ τὸν περιεστῶτα λαόν, ὅπως τὰ πλημμελήματα μου μὴ κωλύσωσιν ἐνθάδε παραγενέσθαι τὸ πανάγιόν σου πνεῦμα καὶ νῦν, ὑπεράγαθε, ἀλλὰ συγχώρησόν μοι ἀκατακρίτως βοᾶν σοι καὶ λέγειν·

Prologue 2: "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel"

Translated by author

Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, for he has regarded and redeemed his people: for behold, the time of the feast has drawn near to us: angels with men celebrate and a choir of saints draws near to us. 1) Today the grace of the Holy Spirit, sanctifying the waters, appears to these. 2) Today the heavens delight in raining dew upon the earth.	Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ· ἰδοῦ γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπέστη ἡμῖν καιρός, καὶ ἄγγελοι μετὰ ἀνθρῶπων ἑορτάζουσιν καὶ χοροὺς ἁγίων πλησιάζει ἡμῖν. 1) Σήμερον ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἁγιάζουσα τὰ ὕδατα τούτοις ἐπιφαίνεται. 2) Σήμερον ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀγλαϊζόμενος δρόσον τῇ γῇ ἐπομβρίζει.

3) Today the never-setting sun appears and the world is illuminated.	3) Σήμερον ὁ ἥλιος ἄδυτος ἐπιφαίνεται, καὶ ὁ κόσμος φωτίζεται.
4) Today the moon shines on the world with the brightness of its rays.	4) Σήμερον ἡ σελήνη λαμπραῖς ἀκτῖσιν τῷ κόσμῳ συλλαμπρύνεται.
5) Today the luminous stars beautify the world.	5) Σήμερον οἱ φωτοειδεῖς ἀστέρες τὴν οἰκουμένην καλλωπίζουσιν.
6) Today the clouds give the dew of righteousness to mankind from the heavens.	6) Σήμερον αἱ νεφέλαι ὑετὸν δικαιοσύνης οὐρανόθεν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι δροσίζουσιν.
7) Today all of the waters spread their back to the feet of the master.	7) Σήμερον τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων νῶτα ὑποστρωννύει τοῖς ἴχνεσιν τοῦ Δεσπότου.
8) Today the invisible one becomes visible in order to manifest himself to us.	8) Σήμερον ὁ ἀόρατος ὁρᾶται, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐμφανίσῃ ἑαυτὸν.
9) Today the uncreated one by his own will receives the laying on of hands from his own creation.	9) Σήμερον ὁ ἄκτιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου κτίσματος βουλήσει χειροθετεῖται.
10) Today he who does not bow down bows his neck before his servant so that he might release us from slavery.	10) Σήμερον ὁ ἀκλινὴς ὑπὸ τῷ ἰδίῳ δούλῳ ὑποκλίνει αὐχένα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐκ δουλείας ἐλευθερώσῃ.
11) Today we have been delivered from darkness and we are being illuminated with the light of the knowledge of God.	11) Σήμερον ἐκ σκότους ἀπηλλάγημεν καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῆς θεογνωσίας καταυγαζόμεθα.
12) Today the master reforms the archetype through the regeneration of the image.	12) Σήμερον ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης διὰ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας τῆς εἰκόνος ἀναμορφοῖ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον.
13) Today the whole creation is watered by breathing streams.	13) Σήμερον ῥείθροις μυροπνεύστοις πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ἀρδεύεται.
14) Today the errors of men are wiped away by the waters of Jordan.	14) Σήμερον τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πταίσματα ἐν ῥείθροις Ἰορδάνου ἀπαλείφονται.
15) Today the bitter waters of the sea are transformed into sweet by the manifestation of their own master.	15) Σήμερον τὰ ἁλμυρὰ ὕδατα τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς γλυκεῖα μεταβλήσκονται τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου.
16) Today paradise has been opened for men, and righteous people congregate with us.	16) Σήμερον παράδεισος ἠνέῳκται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ δίκαιοι συναυλίζονται ἡμῖν.
17) Today we have been released from our ancient lamentation, and as the new Israel we have found salvation.	17) Σήμερον τοῦ πάλαι θρήνου ἀπηλλάγημεν καὶ ὡς νέος Ἰσραὴλ διεσώθημεν.
18) Today we have cast off the old garments of sin and have been clothed in the vesture of incorruption.	18) Σήμερον τὰ πάλαι ῥάκη τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀποθέμενοι καὶ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας χιτῶνας ἐνεδυσάμεθα.
19) Today is the holy and luminous celebration of the Orthodox.	19) Σήμερον ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ μεγαλόφωτος ἡ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πανήγυρις.
20) Today we have received the kingdom of heaven from the heights, and of the Lord's kingdom there is no end.	20) Σήμερον βασιλείαν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐξ ὕψους ἐλάβομεν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου τέλος οὐκ ἔστιν.
21) With whom in thanksgiving, we cry to you:	21) Μεθ᾽ ὧν εὐχαρίστως βοῶμεν σοι…

Appendix D

"Great are You" Prayer

Epiphany version (BAR no. 131), translation based on The Festal Menaion, pp. 356–8.

Baptismal Portion of D-2, "Epiclesis-Blessings", from BAR no. 122.2 (translation based on Archimandrite Ephrem Lash, trans., "Baptism," available from http://www.anastasis.org.uk/baptism.htm, accessed February 16, 2008)

D-1. Praise Anamnesis	D-1. Praise Anamnesis
Great are you, Lord, and marvelous are your works: no words suffice to praise of your wonders. For you by your own will have brought all things out of nothingness into being, by your power you hold together the creation, and by your providence you govern the world. Of four elements have you compounded the creation: with four seasons have you crowned the circuit of the year. All the spiritual powers tremble before you. The sun sings your praises; the moon glorifies you; the stars supplicate before you; the light obeys you; the deeps are afraid at your presence; the fountains are your servants; you have stretched out the heavens like a curtain; you have established the earth upon the waters; you have walled about the sea with sand; you have poured forth the air that living things may breathe. The angelic powers minister to you; the choirs of archangels worship you; the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, standing round about you and flying about you, hide their faces in fear of your unapproachable glory. You, the uncircumscribed God without beginning and beyond speech, have come upon earth, taking the form of a servant and being made in the likeness of man.	Μέγας εἶ, κύριε, καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐξαρκέσει προς ὕμνον τῶν θαυμασίον σου· σὺ γὰρ βουλήσει ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν τὰ σύμπαντα, τῷ σῷ κράτει συνέχεις τὴν κτίσιν, καὶ τῇ σῇ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖς τὸν κόσμον. Σὺ ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τὴν κτίσιν συνήρμοσας, τέτρασιν καιροῖς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐστεφάνωσας. Σὲ τρέμουσιν αἱ νοεραὶ πᾶσαι δυνάμεις, σὲ ὑμνεῖ ἥλιος, σὲ δοξολεγεῖ σελήνη, σοὶ ἐντυγχάνει τὰ ἄστρα, σοὶ ὑπακούει τὸ φῶς, σὲ φρίσσουσιν ἄβυσσοι, σοὶ δουλεύουσιν αἱ πηγαί. Σὺ ἐξέτεινας τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν· σὺ ἐστερέωσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων· σὺ περιετείχισας τὴν θάλασσαν ψάμμῳ· σὺ πρὸς ἀναπνοὰς τὸν ἀέρα ἐξέχεας. Ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις σοὶ λειτουργοῦσιν· οἱ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων χοροὶ σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν· τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὲὶμ κύκλῳ ἑστῶτα καὶ περιϋπτάμενα φόβῳ τῆς ἀπροσίτου σου δόξης κατακαλύπτεται. Σὺ γὰρ θεὸς ὢν ἀπερίγραπτος, ἄναρχος τε καὶ ἀνέκφραστος, ἦλθες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος·

For you, o master, in your merciful compassion could not bear to see humankind beneath the tyranny of the devil, but you have come and saved us. We confess your grace, we proclaim your mercy, we hide not your beneficence. You have set free the offspring of our kind. You have hallowed a virgin womb by your nativity. At your epiphany the whole creation sang your praises. For you, our God, have appeared on earth and dwelt among men, you have sanctified the streams of the Jordan, sending down from on high the most Holy Spirit, and you have broken the heads of the dragons hidden therein.	οὐ γὰρ ἔφερες, δέσποτα, διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους σου θεᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τυραννούμενον τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ᾽ ἦλθες καὶ ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς. Ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν χάριν, κηρύττομεν τὸν ἔλεον, οὐ κρύπτομεν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. Τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν γονὰς ἠλευθέρωσας, παρθενικὴν ἡγίασας μήτραν τῷ τόκῳ σου· πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ὕμνησεν σὲ ἐπιφανέντα. Σὺ γὰρ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθης καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφης· σὺ καὶ ἰορδάνεια ῥεῖθρα ἡγίασας, οὐρανόθεν καταπέμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα, καὶ τὰς κεφλὰς τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐμφωλευόντων συνέτριψας δρακόντων.

D-2. Epiclesis-Blessings – Baptism	**D-2. Epiclesis-Blessings – Epiphany**	**D-2. Epiclesis-Blessings – Baptism**	**D-2. Epiclesis-Blessings – Epiphany**
Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water. And grant it the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a spring of *incorruption*, a gift of sanctification, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength: *Let all of those that conspire against your creature flee from it because I, Lord, have called upon your name, which is wondrous and glorious and fearful to adversaries.*	Therefore, king who loves humankind, come forward now as then through the descent of your Holy Spirit, and bless this water. And grant it the grace of redemption, the blessing of Jordan. Make it a spring of *blessing*, a gift of sanctification, a protection against disease, a destruction to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers and filled with angelic strength: *that all who draw from it and partake of it may have it for the cleansing of their soul and body, for the healing of their passions, for the sanctification of their homes, and for every purpose that is expedient.*	Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ποίησον αὐτὸ *ἀφθαρσίας* πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον, δαίμοσιν ὀλέθριον, ταῖς ἐναντίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον, ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον, *Φυγέτωσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῷ πλάσματι σου ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα σου, κύριε, ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις…*	Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ποίησον αὐτὸ *εὐλογίας* πηγήν, ἁγιασμοῦ δῶρον, ἁμαρτημάτων λυτήριον, νοσημάτων ἀλεξητήριον, δαίμοσιν ὀλέθριον, ταῖς ἐναντίαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον, ἀγγελικῆς ἰσχύος πεπληρωμένον, *ἵνα πάντες οἱ ἁρυόμενοι καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχοιεν αὐτὸ πρὸς καθαρισμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, πρὸς ἰατρείαν παθῶν, πρὸς ἁγιασμὸν οἴκων, πρὸς πᾶσαν ὠφέλειαν ἐπιτήδειον.*

D-3. Anamnetic Doxologies	**D-3. Anamnetic Doxologies**
For you are our God, who has renewed through water and the Spirit our nature grown old through sin. You are our God who drowned sin through water [in the days of] Noah. You are our God, who in the days of Moses set free the Hebrew nation through the sea from the bondage of Pharaoh. You are our God who cleft the rock in the wilderness: the waters gushed out, the streams overflowed, and you satisfied your thirsty people. You are our God who by water and fire through Elijah brought back Israel from the error of Baal. You are our God, who healed the bitter and barren waters by the salt of Elisha. Our God, who received the inseparable concord of the Trinity in the Jordan and who manifested the single paternal essence of your Godhead to us in it.	Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ δι ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀνακαινίσας τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν φύσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ δι᾽ ὕδατος κατακλύσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐλευθερώσας ἐκ τῆς δουλείας Φαραὼ διὰ Μωσέως τὸ γένος τῶν Ἑβραίων· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διαρρήξας πέτραν ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐρρύσαν ὕδατα καὶ χείμαρροι κατεκλύσθησαν, καὶ διψῶντα τὸν λαόν σου κορέσας· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ δι᾽ ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἠλία ἀπαλλάξας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ Βάαλ· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὰ πικρὰ καὶ ἀτεκνοῦντα ὕδατα ἐπὶ Ἐλισσαιου ἅλατι θεραπεύσας· ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν ἀδιάστατον τῆς Τριάδος συμφωνίαν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ὑποδείξας καὶ τό ὁμοούσιον τῆς πατρικῆς σου θεότητος ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ φανερώσας.
D-4. Epiclesis Extension	**D-4. Epiclesis Extension**
Now yourself, master, having blessed this water by your Holy Spirit, grant sanctification, blessing, purification, and health to those who touch it, anoint themselves with it or partake of it.	Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, ἁγιάσας τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τῷ πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ, δὸς πᾶσιν τοῖς τε ἁπτομένοις τοῖς τε μεταλαμβάνουσιν τοῖς τε κεχρημένοις τὸν ἁγιασμὸν, τὴν εὐλογίαν, τὴν κάθαρσιν, τὴν ὑγεῖαν·
D-5. Intercessions doxology	**D-5. Intercessions doxology**
And save, o Lord, your servants, our faithful rulers, and preserve them in peace under your protection; protect them from every enemy and adversary; grant to them whatsoever they ask unto salvation and eternal life. So, by the elements, by the angels and by men, by things visible and invisible, may your all-holy name be glorified, together with your Father and your holy, and good, and life-creating Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.	καὶ σῶσον, κύριε, τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς πιστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν καὶ φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην σου ἐν εἰρηνῃ, ὑπόταξον αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον, χάρισαι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτηματα καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ἵνα καὶ διὰ στοιχείων καὶ διὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ διὰ ἀγγέλων καὶ διὰ ὁρωμένων καὶ διὰ ἀοράτων δοξάζηται τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομά σου σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Appendix E

Courtyard Prayer of the Blessing of Waters: "God our God" (BAR 133.1, 2)

Translated by author

God our God, who in the days of Moses changed the bitter water into sweet for the people, and healed the dangerous waters by salt in the days of Elisha, and sanctified the streams of the Jordan by your unblemished manifestation, now yourself, master, sanctify this water, and make it a spring of blessing, the healing of passions, the sanctification of dwellings, a protection from all visible and invisible attack for all who draw from it and partake of it. For yours is the dominion, and yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the Father.	Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸ πικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπι Μωϋσέως τῷ λαῷ εἰς γλυκὺ μεταποιήσας, καὶ τὰ βλαβερὰ ὕδατα ἐπὶ Ἐλισσαίου ἅλατι θεραπεύσας, καὶ τὰ ἰορδάνεια ῥεῖθρα ἁγιάσας τῇ ἀχράντῳ σου ἐπιφανείᾳ, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ ποίησον αὐτὸ γενέσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀρυομένοις καὶ τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐλογίας πηγὴν, ἰατρείαν παθῶν, ἁγιασμὸν οἴκων, πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου ἀλεξητήριον. Ὅτί σὸν τὸ κράτος, καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρός.

Appendix F

Troparia

1. "When You were Baptized" (TGC, p. 174). Translation based on *The Festal Menaion*, p. 359.

When you were baptized in the Jordan, Lord, the worship of the Trinity was made manifest. For the voice of the Father bore witness to you, calling you the beloved Son, and the Spirit in the form of a dove confirmed the truth of the word. O Christ our God, who has appeared and enlightened the world, glory to you.	Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτιζομένου σου, Κύριε, ἡ τῆς Τριάδος ἐφανερώθη προσκύνησις· τοῦ γαρ Γεννήτορος ἡ φωνὴ προσεμαρτύρει, ἀγαπητόν σε Υἱὸν ὀνομάζουσα, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐβεβαίου τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀσφαλές. Ὁ ἐπιφανείς, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν κόσμον φωτίσας, δόξα σου.

2. "Today the Trinity" (TGC, p. 184). Translated by Jordan, *Evergetis Typikon*, pp. 417–8.

Today the Trinity in unity of deity showed its goodness to us: for the Father was heard proclaiming from heaven, the Son was recognized in fleshly form being baptized, the Holy Spirit's presence was shown, receiving which by faith we cry out in harmony: glory to you, o Christ our God, who was made manifest.	Σήμερον Τριὰς ἐν Μονάδι θεότητος ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν τὴν αὐτῆς ἀγαθότητα· Πατὴρ γὰρ ἠκούετο οὐρανόθεν φθεγγόμενος, Υἱὸς ἐγνωρίζετο ἐν σαρκὶ βαπτιζόμενος, Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐδηλοῦτο παρουσία, ἣν ἐκ πίστεως λαβόντες πάντες κράζομεν συμφώνως· ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι.

3. "Voice of the Lord" (TGC, p. 182). Translated by author.

[The] voice of the Lord upon the waters cried, saying: come, all, receive the Spirit of wisdom, the spirit of understanding, the Spirit of the fear of God, who is manifest.	Φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων βοᾷ λέγουσα. δεῦτε λάβετε πάντες πνεῦμα σοφίας. Πνεῦμα συνέσεως. πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐπιφανέντος.

4. “Let Us the Faithful” (*Evergetis Typikon*, pp. 418–9). Translated by Jordan.

Let us, the faithful, praise the greatness of God’s beneficence regarding us; for in our transgression he who alone was pure and undefiled becoming man purifies our purification in the Jordan, sanctifying me and the waters and crushing the heads of the dragons in the water. Let us draw water therefore with gladness, brothers, for to those who draw in faith the grace of the Spirit is invisibly given by Christ our God and the Savior of our souls.	Ἀνυμνήσωμεν οἱ πιστοὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐεργεσίας το μέγεθος· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἡμῶν παραπτώματι γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἡμῶν κάθαρσιν καθαίρεται ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, ὁ μόνος καθαρὸς καὶ ἀκήρατος ἁγιάζων ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων συντρίβων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος· ἀντλήσωμεν οὖν ὕδωρ μετ᾽ εὐφροσύνης, ἀδελφοί, ἡ γὰρ χάρις τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῖς πιστῶς ἀντλοῦσιν ἀοράτως ἐπιδίδοται παρὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Appendix G

Prologue "Glory to you, Christ" (*Grottaferrata Gb X*, Conybeare, p. 424)

Translated by author.

Glory to you, Christ our God, who went under the waters of the Jordan; and John, seeing this, cried, saying: What, has the source arrived to the water? What, has the master come to the servant? The lesser is blessed by the master, creation is made new by the creator.	Δόξα σοι Χριστὲ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, κατέλαβες τὰ ἰορδάνεια νάματα· καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης βλέπων ἐβόα λέγων· τί, ἡ πηγὴ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἔφθασεν; τί, ὁ Δεσπότης πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ἐλήλυθεν· ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ ἧττον εὐλογεῖται, ὑπὸ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸ κτίσμα καινουργεῖται.
"I preach the Baptism of repentance; but you provide the grace of compassion. But he heard the remission just now, and laid the hand upon you, Christ, who has great mercy."	Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ τῆς μετανοίας κηρύττω βάπτισμα· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας παρέχεις χάρισμα. Ἀλλ᾽ ἤκουσεν τὸ ἄφες ἄρτι, καὶ ἐξέτεινεν τὴν παλάμην ἐπί σε, Χριστέ, τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ μέγα ἔλεος·
Since your undefiled body was bare, the waters of the Jordan were wrapped [around you] by John; the cherubim cried, unceasingly saying with a great voice: Holy, holy, holy, the one who came and was baptized in the river Jordan, and illuminated the entire race of humanity; o Lord our God, by the descent and operation of your Holy Spirit, grant us grace unto this service, so that in you we would have the power to impose commands on evil and impure demons.	γυμνουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος, ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου περιβαλέσθαι ὕδατα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἐβόησαν τὰ χερουβίμ, ἀκαταπαύστῳ φώνῃ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες·ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος. ὁ ἐλθὼν καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, καὶ φωτίσας πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, δὸς ἡμῖν χάριν εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἵνα ἐν σοὶ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες ἐπιτάσωμεν τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις δαίμοσιν.
And now we pray to you, Lord, blot out our transgressions, and stand beside me during the hour of this prayer so that uncondemned I may boldly cry and say: [Blessed is the Lord God of Israel].	Καὶ νῦν δεόμεθά σου, Κύριε, ἐξάλειψον τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, καὶ παράστα μοι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς προσεῦχης ταύτης ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως τολμῶ βοᾶν καὶ λέγειν· [Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ].

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Ambrose of Milan, Bishop, *De sacramentiis* (CPL 154), in B. Botte (ed.), *Des sacrements, Des mystères*, Sources chrétiennes 25. (Paris: Cerf, 1950).

Antonini Placentini Itinerarium (CPL 2330), P. Geyer (ed.), CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965).

Arranz, Miguel (ed.), *L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. hagiasmatarion & archieratikon* (Rome: editrice pontificia università gregoriana, 1996).

_____ (ed.) *I penitenziali bizantini. Il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion primitivo di Giovanni Monaco e Diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o 'Secondo Kanonarion' di Basilio Monaco*, Kanonika 3 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 1993).

_____ (ed.) *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr.115, AD 1131,* OCA 185, (Rome: Pontificium institutum studiorum orientalium, 1969).

Benesevic, V, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa* (Petrograd: Zapiski Istoriko Philologicheskago Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta, 1917).

Chrysostom, St. John, *De Baptismo Christi* (CPG 4335), PG 49: 365–6.

Conybeare, F.C., *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with Appendices, 2nd edn (South Canaan, Pennsylvania: St. Tikhon's Seminary, 1977).

Дмитріевский, A. (ed.), *Описаніе Литургическихъ Рукописей* (3 vols, Kiev: Typographia G.T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1895. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).

Égérie. *Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*, Pierre Maraval (ed.), Sources chrétiennes, 296 (Paris: Cerf, 2002).

Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, Frank Williams (trans.), Nag Hammadi Studies 36 (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1994).

The Festal Menaion, Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (trans.), (London: Faber and Faber, 1969).

Follieri, Enrica, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, Studi e testi, 211–15 bis, (5 vols, Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1960–1966).

Frček, J. (ed.), *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, Patrologia Orientalis, 24 (Paris, 1933).

George of Sykeon, *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*, André-Jean Festugière (ed.), Subsidia hagiographica, 48 (2 vols, Bruxelles : Société des Bollandistes, 1970).

Goar, J. (ed.), *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum*, 2nd edn (Venice: Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730; Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1960).

Hänggi, A and I. Pahl, (eds), *Prex eucharistica: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1968).

Holl, Karl, (ed.), *Epiphanius*, GCS (vol 2, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922).

Jacob of Sarug, *Jacob of Sarug's Homily on Epiphany*, Thomas Kollamparampil (ed.) (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008).

John the Faster, Patriarch, *Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις επὶ ἐξομολογούμενον*, CPG 7559, PG: 88, 1889–1919.

_____, *Λόγος πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξαγορεῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν Πατέρα*. PG 88, 1919–1937.

Kodinos, George (pseud.), *Traité des offices*, Jean Verpeaux (ed.) (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1966).

Mateos, Juan (ed.), *Le Typikon de la grande église: ms Sainte-Croix no. 40, X siécle* OCA, 165 (vol. 1, Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1962).

Μηναία του ὁλου ἐνιαυτοῦ Τόμος Γ΄. Περιέχων την ἀνήκουσαν ἀκολουθίαν Ἰανουρίου καὶ Φεβρουαρίου μηνῶν (Rome, 1896).

Nahtigal, R. (ed.), *Euchologium Sinaiticum: Starocervenoslovenski glagolski spomnik* (2 vols, Ljubljana: Natisnila učiteljska tiskarna v Ljubljana, 1941, 1942).

Parenti, Stefano and Elena Velkovska, (eds), *Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, 2nd edn, BELS, 80, A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (eds) (Rome: edizioni liturgiche, 2000).

Passarelli, G (ed.), *L'eucologio cryptense Γ.Β. VII (sec. X)*, Analekta Vlatadon, 36 (Thessalonica, 1982).

Pentkovsky, A. (ed.), *Типикон Патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси* (Moscow: Izdatelstva Moskovskoy Patriarchii, 2001).

Petras, David, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, 1991).

Porphyrogénète, Constantin VII, *Le livre des cérémonies*, Albert Vogt (ed.), (2 vols, Paris, 1935–40).

Праздничная Минея, (Moscow: Synodalnaya Typographia, 1901).

Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331, Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten (eds), Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 19 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

Renoux, Athanase, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem* 121, I. *Introduction aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine: lumières nouvelles*, Patrologia Orientalis, 35.1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969).

_____, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, II. *Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits*. Athanase Renoux (ed.), Patrologia Orientalis, 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971).

The Rites of the Catholic Church, trans. International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1976).

The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: September–February, Robert H. Jordan (ed.), Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.5 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000).

Tarchnischvili, Michel, (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem V–VIII siècle* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 189 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1959–1960).

Требник, (Moscow: Publishing Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 1992).

Trempelas, P.N., *Μικρόν Εὐχολόγιον,τόμος Β΄. Ἀκολουθίαι καὶ τάξεις ἁγιασμοῦ ὑδάτων, ἐγκαινίων, ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπερινοῦ* (Athens, 1950).

Trois homélies syriaques anonymes et inédites sur l'Épiphanie, trans. and Introduction Alain Desreumaux (ed.), Patrologia Orientalis, 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977).

Типикон, (Moscow: Publishing Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2002).

Secondary Sources:

Adam, Adolf, *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990).

Afanaseva, Tatiana, 'Чинопоследование великаго освящения водьі на Богоявление в Славянских служебниках XI-XV ВВ', *Palaeobulgarica*, 28 (2004): 25–45.

Andronikof, Constantin, *Le sens des fêtes*, vol. 1 *(le cycle fixe)* (Paris: Cerf, 1970).

_____, 'Y a-t il une pneumatologie dans les fêtes fixes de la liturgie byzantine?', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 90 (1976): 352–66.

Arranz, Miguel, 'Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine. Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, II-3', OCP, 59 (1993): 63–89.

_____, 'Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique', in *Liturgie de l'église particulière, liturgie de l'église universelle*, A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (eds), BELS, 7 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1976).

_____, 'La liturgie de l'euchologe slave du Sinai', in *Christianity Among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, Edward C. Farrugia, Robert F. Taft, and Gino K. Piovesana, (eds), OCA, 231 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1988).

_____, 'Les prières pénitentielles de la tradition byzantine. Les sacrements de la restauration de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, II-2', OCP, 57 (1991): 87–143.

_____, 'Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain', OCP, 48 (1982): 284–335.

_____, 'Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 6: l'"illumination" de la nuit de Pâques', OCP, 51 (1985): 60–86.

_____, 'Les sacrements de l'ancien euchologe constantinopolitain, pt. 7: l'"illumination" de la nuit de Pâques', OCP, 52 (1986): 145–78.

Baldovin, John, *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008).

_____, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, OCA, 228 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1987).

Bartholomew, Patriarch, *Cosmic Grace, Humble Prayer: The Ecological Vision of the Green Patriarch Bartholomew*, John Chryssvagis (ed.), John Zizioulas (foreword) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

Baumstark, Anton, *Comparative Liturgy*, 3rd edn, Bernard Botte (ed.), F.L. Cross (trans.) (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1958).

_____, 'Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des Byzantinischen Ritus', *Oriens Christianus* 3, 2 (1927): 1–32.

Bertonière, Gabriel, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church*, OCA, 193 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1972).

Bobrinskoy, Boris, *The Mystery of the Trinity: Trinitarian Experience and Vision in the Biblical and Patristic Tradition*, trans. Anthony P. Gythiel (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1999).

Bouteneff, Peter, 'Sacraments as the Mystery of Union: Elements in an Orthodox Sacramental Theology', in *The Gestures of God: Explorations in Sacramentality*, Geoffrey Rowell and Christine Hall (eds), (New York: Continuum, 2004).

Brock, Sebastian, 'Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh', in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, OCA, 205 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1978).

_____, 'The Homily by Marutha of Tagrit on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany', *Oriens Christianus*, 66 (1982): 51–74.

_____, 'Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy', *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series*, 23 (1972): 16–64.

Budge, E.A., *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany* (London, New York: Oxford University, 1901).

Bugnini, Annibale, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948–1975*, Matthew J. O'Connell (trans.) (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990).

Burmester, O.H.E., *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of her Sacraments*, Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte (Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1967).

Butcher, Brian, 'Figuring Liturgically: A Ricoeurian Analysis of the Byzantine Rite "Great Blessing of Water," Ph D dissertation, Faculty of Theology, Sheptytsky Institute, University of St. Paul, 2010.

Cabié, R., 'The Celebration of Initiation After Vatican II', in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3: *The Sacraments* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1987).

Chamberlain, Gary, *Troubled Waters: Religion, Ethics, and the Global Water Crisis* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008).

Clavis Patrum Graecorum, 5 vols, Maurice Geerard (ed.) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987).

Clavis Patrum Latinorum, 3rd edn, E. Dekkers and E. Gaar (eds), CCSL, 31 (Steenbrugis: In Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995).

Cody, A., 'The Early History of Octoechos in Syria', in N. Garsoian et al., *East of Byzantium, Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks: Washington, DC, 1982).

Congar, Yves, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, vol. 3, David Smith (trans.) (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1983).

Crostini-Lappin, Barbara, 'Structure and Dating of Codex *Atheniensis Graecus 788*, Typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Founded in 1049)', *Scriptorum: revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscripts*, 52.2 (1998): 330–49.

Dalmais, Irénée, 'La sanctification des eaux et la fête de l'Épiphanie dans la tradition syro-antiochienne et ses dérivées', in *Bénédictions et les sacramentaux dans la liturgie.* Conférences Saint-Serge XXXIVe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 23–26, Juin 1987, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 44 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1988).

Denysenko, Nicholas, 'Baptismal Themes in the Byzantine Blessing of Waters on Theophany', *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 52 (2011): 55-88.

_____, 'The Soteriological Significance of the Feast of Mary's Birth', *Theological Studies*, 68 (2007): 739–60.

Detscher, Alan, 'The Eucharistic Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church', in *New Eucharistic Prayers: An Ecumenical Study of Their Development and Structure*, ed. Frank Senn (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).

Dubarle, A.-M, Bernard Botte and E. Mélia, *Noël, Épiphanie retour du Christ*, Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge, Lex Orandi, 40 (Paris: Cerf, 1967).

Edwards, Denis (ed.), *Earth Revealing—Earth Healing: Ecology and Christian Theology* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2001).

Engberding, H., 'Ein übersehenes griechisches Taufwasserweihegebet und seine Bedeutung', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 14 (1965): 281–291.

Fenwick, John, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James: An Investigation into Their Common Origin*, OCA 240 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1992).

Ferguson, Everett, 'Preaching at Epiphany: Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom on Baptism and the Church', *Church History* 66 (1997): 1–17.

Feulner, Hans-Jürgen, Robert Taft, and Elena Velkovska (eds), *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, OCA, 260 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 2000).

_____, 'On the "Preparatory Rites" of the Armenian Divine Liturgy', in R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East: An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2006).

Flannery, A. (ed.), *Vatican II: The Basic Sixteen Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1996).

Gerhards, A., 'Le phénomène du Sanctus adressé au Christ. Son origine, sa signification et sa persistance dans les Anaphores de l'Église d'Orient', in *Le Christ dans la liturgie*, Conférences Saint-Serge XXVIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 24–28 Juin 1980, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 20 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1981).

Getcha, Job, 'Confession and Spiritual Direction in the Orthodox Church: Some Modern Questions to a Very Ancient Practice', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 51 (2007): 203–20.

Harrison, Nonna Verna, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Festal Spirituality: Anamnesis and Mimesis', *Philosophy and Theology*, 18 (2006): 27–51.

Irwin, Kevin, *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1994).

_____, 'A Sacramental World—Sacramentality As the Primary Language for Sacraments', *Worship*, 76 (2002): 97–111.

Jacob, André, 'L'euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. Gr. 226 (Xe siècle)', *Le Museon*, 78 (1965): 173–214.

_____, 'Note sur la prière Κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων de l'euchologe Barberini', *Byzantion*, 56 (1986): 139–147.

_____, 'Quelques observations sur l'euchologe *Γ.Β.* VII de Grottaferrata: A propos d'une édition récente', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, 53–54 (1983–1984): 65–98.

_____, 'Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur "in Lingua Phari" de Messine. Le Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, 50 (1980): 283–364.

_____, 'Une seconde édition "revue" de l'euchologe Barberini', in *Archivio storico per La Calabria e La Lucania* (Rome, 1999).

Johnson, Maxwell, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1999).

_____, 'Response to Gabriele Winkler On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras: A Preliminary Overview,' in Roberta R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East: An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2006).

Jounel, P., 'The Veneration of Mary', in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 4: *The Liturgy and Time* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1986).

Jungmann, Joseph, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, Balthasar Fischer (foreword) (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1989).

Khouri-Sarkis, G., and A. du Boullay, 'La bénédiction de l'eau, la nuit de l'Épiphanie, dans le rite syrien d'Antioche', *L'Orient syrien*, 4 (1959): 211–32.

Klentos, John, 'Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos (Codex Athens Ethnike B)', PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1995.

Lampe, G.W.H. (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

Lathrop, Gordon, *Holy Ground: A Liturgical Cosmology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

Lemarié, Joseph, *La manifestation du Seigneur: la liturgie de Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, Lex Orandi, 23 (Paris: Cerf, 1957).

Lossky, Vladimir, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (trans.) (London: James Clarke & Co., 1952; Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1998).

Mainstone, Rowland, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988).

Majeska, George, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 19 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984).

Martimort, Aimé, and Irénée Dalmais, Pierre Gy, Pierre Jounel (eds), *The Church at Prayer: v*ol. 1, *Principles of the Liturgy*, trans. Martin O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1987).

Martimort, A., "The Dialogue Between God and His People," in A. Martimort (ed.), trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 1: *Principles of the Liturgy* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1987).

Мансветов, И, *Церковный уставъ (Типикъ), его образование и судьба въ греческой и русской церкви* (Moscow, 1885).

Mateos, Juan, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine : étude historique.* OCA, 191 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1971).

Mathews, Thomas, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1971).

Mayer, Wendy, 'The Sea Made Holy. The Liturgical Function of the Waters Surrounding Constantinople', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 112 (1998): 459–68.

Mazza, Enrico, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation*, trans. Matthew O'Connell (Collegeville,Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1999).

McDonnell, Kilian, *The Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan: the Trinitarian and Cosmic Order of Salvation* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1996).

McGowan, Anne Vorhes, 'Basilian Anaphoras: Rethinking the Question', in Maxwell Johnson (ed.), *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2010).

McKenna, John, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology,* Alcuin Club Collections, 57 (Great Wakering, Great Britain: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975).

Merras, Merja, *The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany: An Ideological, Cultural, and Historical Study*, University of Joensuu publications in the Humanities, 16 (Joensuu, Finland: Joensuu University Press, 1995).

Mohrmann, Christine, *Epiphania*, vol. 1, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958).

Munarini, Giuseppe, 'Canone della benedizione delle acque [nel giorno del Natale Epifania di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo nella Chiesa Armena (6 Gennaio)]', *Bazmavep*, 163 (2005): 227–65.

Nikolsky, K, "О Службах русской церкви бывших в прежних печатных богослужебных книгах" (St. Petersburg, 1885).

Parenti, Stefano, *L'eucologio slavo del Sinai nella storia dell'eucologio bizantino (Filologia slava, 2)*, Seminario del dipartimento di studi Slavi e dell'Europa centro-orientale (Rome: Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', 1997).

Patrich, Joseph, 'The Sabaite Heritage – An Introductory Survey', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, 98 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

_____ (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, 98 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

Pearce, Fred, *When the Rivers Run Dry* (Boston: Beacon, 2006).

Peppard, Christiana, 'The Death Throes of the River Jordan', in *Water: Its Spiritual Significance*, eds Gray Henry-Blakemore and Elena Lloyd-Sidle (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2010).

_____, 'A Parched World's Search for Water', *Reflections* (Fall 2010): 63–5.

Pott, Thomas, *La réforme liturgique byzantine. Étude du phénomène de l'évolution non- spontanée de la liturgie byzantine*, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 104 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2000).

Puniet de, P., 'Bénédiction de l'eau', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 2, Pt. 1, (DACL) eds F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq (Paris: 1925).

_____, 'La fête de l'Épiphanie et l'hymne du baptême au rite grec', *Rassegna Gregoriana,* 5 (Rome: Società di San Giovanni Evangelista, 1906).

Quasten, Johannes, 'Notes: The Blessing of the Baptismal Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century', *Theological Studies,* 7 (1946): 309–13.

Renoux, Athanase, "L'Épiphanie à Jérusalem au IVe et au Ve siècles," in *Noël, Épiphanie retour du Christ*, eds A.-M. Dubarle et al., Lex Orandi 40, semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge (Paris: Cerf, 1967).

Roll, Susan, *Toward the Origins of Christmas*, Liturgia condenda, 5 (Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1995).

Saterlee, Craig, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2002).

Sauget, J.-M., 'Bénédiction de l'eau dans la nuit de l'Épiphanie selon l'ancienne tradition de l'Église maronite', *L'Orient Syrien*, 4 (1959): 319–78.

Scheidt, Hubert, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung Untersucht*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, 29 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1935).

Schmemann, Alexander, *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom*, Paul Kachur (trans.) (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1988).

Скабалланович, М, *Объяснительное изложение Типикона с историческим введением* (3 vols, Kiev, 1910, 1913, 1915).

Smyth, Matthieu, 'The Anaphora of the So-called "Apostolic Tradition" and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer', in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010).

Strittmatter, A, 'The "Barberinum S. Marci" of Jacques Goar. Barberinianus graecus 336', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 47 (1933): 329–67.

Taft, Robert, 'Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited', in *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948): Acts of the International Congress, Rome, 25–29 September 1998*, eds R.F. Taft, S.J. and G. Winkler, OCA, 265 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 2001).

_____, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd edn (Rome: Edizioni orientalia christiana, Pontificio istituto orientale, 1997).

_____, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1992).

_____, 'Christ in the Byzantine Divine Office', in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan Spinks and foreword by Martin Jean (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008).

_____, 'The Epiclesis Question in the Light of the Orthodox and Catholic *Lex Orandi* Traditions', in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. Bradley Nassif (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1996).

_____, 'From Logos to Spirit: On the Early History of the Epiclesis', in *Gratias Agamus: Studien zum eucharistischen Hockgebet*, eds Andreas Heinz and Heinrich Hennings (Freiburg: Herder, 1992).

_____, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 2nd edn, OCA, 200 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1978).

_____, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 4: *The Diptychs*. OCA, 238 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1991).

_____, 'The Armenian "Holy Sacrifice (Surb Patarg)" as a Mirror of Armenian Liturgical History', in *The Armenian Christian Tradition: Scholarly Symposium in Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of His Holiness Karekin I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, December 12, 1996*, OCA 254 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1997).

_____, 'The Armenian Liturgy: Its Origins and Characteristics', in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, Papers delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library at a symposium organized by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, 21–22 May 1994 (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, Seattle : Distributed by University of Washington Press, 1998).

_____, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5: *The Precommunion Rites*, OCA, 261 (Rome: Pontificio istituto orientale, 2000).

_____, 'Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988): 179–194.

_____, 'St. John Chrysostom and the Byzantine Anaphora that Bears His Name', in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. Paul Bradshaw (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1997).

_____, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, California: InterOrthodox Press, 2006).

_____, 'What Does Liturgy Do? Toward a Soteriology of Liturgical Celebration: Some Theses', *Worship*, 66 (1992): 194–211.

Talley, Thomas, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd edn (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991).

Theodorou, Evangelos, 'Le Christ dans le cycle des fêtes de l'Eglise orthodoxe', in *Le Christ dans la liturgie*, Conférences Saint-Serge XXVIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 20 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1980).

Thomas, John, 'The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic *Typica*', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, 98 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

Varghese, Baby, *West Syrian Liturgical Theology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

_____, 'Prayers Addressed to Christ in the West Syrian Tradition', in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan Spinks, foreword Martin Jean (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2008).

Velkovska, Elena. 'Blessings in the East', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 4*: Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed. Anscar Chupungco (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2000).

_____, *Nuovi paralleli graeci dell' eucologio slavo del Sinai* (Rome, 1996).

Vincie, Catherine, 'The Challenge of the New Science to Liturgy', *Worship*, 83 (2009): 19–30.

Vidalis, Markos, 'La bénédiction des eaux de la fête de l'Épiphanie, selon le rite grec de l'Église orthodoxe', in *La prière liturgique*, Conférences Saint-Serge XLVIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 27–30, Juin 2000, eds A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, BELS, 115 (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 2001).

Weitzmann, Kurt and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of St. Catherines at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Volume One: from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 1990).

Winkler, Gabriele, 'The Appearance of Light at the Baptism of Jesus and the Origins of the Feast of Epiphany: An Investigation of Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Sources', in *Between Memory and Hope: Readings on the Liturgical Year*, ed. Maxwell Johnson (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2000).

_____, 'The Blessing of Water in the Oriental Liturgies', in *Blessing and Power*, eds Mary Collins and David Power (Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1985).

_____, 'On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras: A Preliminary Overview,' in Roberta R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East: An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2006).

_____, 'Christology of the Anaphora of Basil in Its Various Redactions, with Some Remarks Concerning the Authorship of Basil,' ed. Bryan Spinks, foreword by Martin Jean, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology and Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2008).

Wright, W, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1870).

Yarnold, Edward, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the R.C.I.A.* 2nd edn (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1994).

This page has been left blank intentionally

Index

Note: italic page numbers refer to tables; numbers in brackets preceded by *n* are footnote numbers.

abbots, role of 58
Acts 10, *52*, *55*, 56, 68(*n*18)
Adam 135
  in Hades 110, 111, 176
Afanaseva, Tatiana 13, 60, 61–62, 164
AL (Armenian Lectionary) 19, 21, 24
Alaska 190
Alexandria of Antioch 73
Alexis (Constantinopolitan patriarch) 48
Alleluia 20, *20*, *32*, *55*, 69, 72, *72*, 73, 135–136, 159, *160*
altar *30*, 31, 51(*n*23), *53*
  water poured over 104
Amalek 135
ambo
  prayers behind 2, 43, 57, 59
  readings from 35, 36, 37
Ambrose of Milan 163–164, 165
'Amen' 61(*n*59), 70
anamnesis
  biblical 52
  of Christ's coming 33
  festal 11, 103, 128
  of God's salvation 53
  of Jesus' baptism 32, 106, 107–108, 111, 126, 197, 198
  praise *see* praise anamnesis
  and Trinitarian theology 115
anamnesis-epiclesis 128, 139, 171–172, 173, 174
anamnetic doxologies *86*, 87, 93–95, 97–98, 100, *100*, 101, 103, 104, 194
  intercessions in *86*, 99, 100, *100*, 206
  pastoral considerations of 172–173, 188–189
  text of 206
  variants in 94–95, 99
anamnetic ektenes 42, 63, 77, 103, 115
anaphora traditions 6, 13, 47, 47(*n*5), 87, 129, 157, 180–181
  literary corpus on 6(*n*22)
  see also Antiochene anaphora; *and see under* Basil, St., of Cappadocia
Anastasiapolis 22
angelic worship 8, 87, 88–89, 103, 116, 120–121, 123, 124
Anglican Church 14, 184–186
anointing with water 2, 130, 143–144, 155, 186, 196, 197
Anomean heresy 119
"Anonymous description" (of Russian pilgrim) 37(*n*42), 146
antidoron 57
Antioch/Antiochene influence 5–6, 17–18, *24*, 25, 83, 87, 89, 191
Antiochene anaphora 87, 88, 92, 97, 100, 180, 194
antiphon *32*, 37, 162, *184*
Antoninus (pilgrim/diarist) 21, 24, *24*, 191
apologetic prayers 118–120
  see also "Heavenly Principles, The"; "Uncreated Trinity"
apophatic statements 87, 88, 119, 120, 120(*n*52)
apotropaic motifs *see* exorcism
Appolinarius, St 35(*n*31)
Armenian Lectionary (AL) 19, 21, 24
Armenian rites 1, 12, 27–28, 29, *29*, 31–33, *32*, 159, 192, 194, 196
  baptismal motif in 135
  and Byzantine rite 6–7, 44, 75, 80
  exorcism in 141
  and "Great are You" prayer 7, 83, 84, 94, 99, 100
  liturgical components of 2, 3
  preparatory 6

Stage Two sources 58
stages compared 79, 80
Arranz, Miguel 4, 12, 28, 37(*n*43), 47, 58(*n*48), 61(*n*59), 85–86, 87, 89, 90, 92–93, 97, 98, 100, 119, 123, 150, 194
Asia Minor 21–22, *24*, 25, 191
asmatikos office 4
Athanasius Athos 21 72, *160*
Athens Greek 788 see Evergetis Typikon
Athos Kostaminotos 60 67, 71, 72, 73–74, 106–107, 114(*n*30), 131–132, 137, 155, 157, *160*, 165, 166, 193
Athos, Mount, community at 5, 49, 78
authorship 13, 75

Baptism 1, 11, 21, 23, *24*, 25, 34, 106, 109–110, 120, 124, 130–131, 165, 171, 191
of eunuch by Philip (Acts 8:26-40) 10
pastoral considerations of 175–176
and prokeimenon 61
Baptism in "Great are You" prayer 7, 8, 13, 83–84, 85–86, 87, 90, 92–93, 94, 99, 100, 103, 104, 125, 130–137
pastoral considerations and 171
Baptism of Jesus 10, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 32, 33, 53, *72*, 80, 81, 94, 95, 108–109, 135, 165, 197
anamnesis of 32, 106, 107–108, 111, 126, 197, 198
and angelic worship 121
appearance of light at 43, 161, 162
and descent into Hades 110–111
and gift of sanctification 155–156, 167
and John the Baptist 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 116, 160
and opening of the heavens 117
pastoral considerations of 171–172, 173, 174
and Trinitarian theology 116, 117–118
Baptism of the Lord (feast) 182, 184–185, *184–185*
De Baptismo Christi 17
baptisteries 36, 44, 59
BAR (Barberini Euchologion) 3, 8, 17, 24, 27, *29*, 33–35, *34*, 41, 156, 164, 192
angelic worship in 120
Baptism rite in 34, 132–133, 166
"Blessed is the Lord God of Israel" in 62
creation motifs in 121–122, 188–189
ektene of 34, 43, 103–104, 137, 154, 173, 199–200
epicletic petitions in 137, 138–139, 167(*n*180), 179
exorcism in 141–143
"God our God" in 35, 43
"Great are You" in 83, 88, *91–92*, 94, 96, *96*, 97, 103–104, 204–206
healing in 143, 146
Prologue 8, *34*, 39, 64, 108, 109, 135, 161, 188–189, 202–203
spiritual gifts in 130
text of 199–207
Trinitarian themes in 113, 114, 115, 118, 119
Baruch 69
Basil the monk 149, 153
Basil, St., of Caesarea 58–59, 75, 88
Basil, St., of Cappadocia *32*
anaphora of 6, 180–181
literary corpus on 6(*n*22)
Liturgy of 1, 173, 177, 178
Baumstark, Anton 78, 136
"Bessarion" (*Codex Grottaferrata Gb 1*) 48, *50*, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 88, 90–91, 92, 93, *96*, 115, 137
Bethlehem 19
bitter waters, healing of 23, 93, 106, 138, 139, 163–164, 197
Bkerké 94/*Bkerké 98 67*, 68
"Blessed is the Lord God of Israel..." (Prologue) *34*, 42, 62, 64, 111, *112*, 120
text of 202–203
blessing of waters
early history of *see* prehistorical period
eighth to tenth century sources *see* Stage One
eleventh to thirteenth century sources *see* Stage Two
contemporary 3
fourteenth to sixteenth century sources *see* Stage Three
authorship and 13

divine operation in 8
history/development of, overview 3–7, 74–81, *74–75*
and mutual exchange of traditions 7
scholarship on 12–14
second office 68–69(*n*18)
Blues/Greens 39
Bobrinskoy, Boris 10–11, 196
bodily cleansing/sustenance 2, 7, 23
Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13 48, *50*, 58, 59, 62, 64, 75, 96, *96*, 97, 114(*n*30), 161
penitence in 150
Prologue 108, 109
synapte 115
bowing of heads 52, *53*
see also inclination of Christ's head; inclination, prayers of
British Museum Add. 14.494 (*B.M. Add. 14.494*) 27, *29*, 30–31, *30*, 42, 51, 83, 192
British Museum Add. 14.495 (*B.M. 14.495*) 47, *50*, 51–52, *51*, 54, 56, 84, 94, 113, 141, 146
British Museum Add. 14.499 (*B.M. Add 14.499*) 47, *50*, 52–54, *52–53*, 55–56
Brock, Sebastian 85, 86, 90–92, 97, 98, 100, 110–111, 128, 136(*n*35), 194
Budge, E.A. 47, 51(*nn*23, 24), 52, 69, 70(*nn*21, 22), 141(*n*56), 144(*n*71), 146, 159(*n*147)
Bugnini, Annibale 180
Burmester, O.H.E. 69, 70(*n*23)
Butcher, Brian 13
Byzantine cathedral Euchologia 7, 47, 60
Byzantine rites
contemporary 2–3
and Coptic rites 70
of initiation 12
monastic hegemony in 3
and Palestinian/Armenian rites 44
Stage One sources 29–30, 42, 80, 131
Stage Two sources 47, 49, 57–65, *65*, 66, 131
Stage Three sources 71–74
stages compared 74–79, *74–75*, 80
title of feast in, interchangability/diversity of 43
see also Constantinople; Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition

Cana, wedding at 185
candles 51(*n*23), *55*, 58
Cappadocian influence 6, 8–9
Carbone (Italy) 28, *29*, 41
catechetics/catechumens 14, 36, 170–176, 190, 191
cathedral tradition 3, 4–5, 12–13, 29, *29*, 37, 43, 44, 48, 61, 178, 191
and monastic tradition, compared 77–79, *78–79*
censers 59(*n*52)
Chamberlain, Gary 169
charcoal, flaming 11, 68, 69, 80, 167, 171, 174, 193
cherubim 87(*n*19), 88, *88*, 116, 121
Chrismation 127
Christ 8, 10, 18, 31, 152
addressee of "Great are You" prayer 89
Baptism of *see* baptism of Jesus
birth of 19, 24, 72, 103, 104, 106
divinity of 43, 172
and John the Baptist 104, 106, 107, 109, 110
presence of 2, 14, 113
Risen 113
and saints 22
and Samaritan woman 66, 68, 69, 80, 192, 193, 198
"Christ our God" (address) 117
Christmas 170, 177
Christology 9–11, 13, 14, 33, 34, 56, 70, 103–113, 124, 155–156, 165–166, 167, 191, 194–196
complementary to Trinitarian theology 9–11, 115, 124, 125, 195–196
in contemporary worship 173–174, 187–188
and "Great are You" prayer 80, 95, 103–107, 123, 126–128
in Prologue 108–111
Chrysostom's anaphora 89(*32*), 158, 159, 165
Chuurch of the Nativity 19
coals, flaming 159, 161, 174, 196, 198
Codex Athens National Library 661 94

Codex Athens National Library 663 *67*, 110, 116, 116(*n*34), 118, 154, 161
baptismal motifs in 133, 134, 135
Codex Athens National Library 670 *50*, 64, *160*
Codex Athens National Library 877 *67*, 94, 109–110, 111, 116–117, 118
Codex Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13 see Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13
Codex Grottaferrata Gb 1 see "Bessarion"
Codex Paris Greek 1590 162
Coislin 402 49, *50*, 57, 151
communion, prayer/rite of 151–153, *151–152*
comparative liturgy method 3, 5, 29, 49, 74–79, 113, 125, 141
Confirmation, rite of 181
Congar, Yves 9
Constantinople 4, 12, 24, 78
cathedral tradition of *see* cathedral tradition
Euchologia from 27, 28, *29*, 57, 92–93
healing sites/episodes in 146–148
imperial palace 72–73, 75
monastic tradition of *see* monastic tratition; Studite-Sabaitic monastic tratdition
patriarchal liturgy 39, 47, 48
Russian pilgrim to 37(*n*42), 146
Stage Two sources from 47, 48, *50*
Typika from 28–29, 35–38
Constantinople, Council of (AD 381) 85, 194
conversion 52, 161
Conybeare, F.C. 31, 48(*n*7), 144(*n*71)
Coptic rites 1, 3–4(*n*10), 12, 69–70, 79, 80, 159, 163, 167, 194, 196
and "Great are You" prayer 7, 83, 84, 89, 99, 100
liturgical components of 2, 3
Corinthians, I *32*, *40*, 61, 68(*n*18), 69, *182*
courtyard prayers 37, 63, 64–65, 155
covenant of God 56, 172, 173
creation 8, 14, 33, 39, 51, 109, 111, 121–123, 197
and ecological stewardship 186–189
and "Great are You" prayer 88, 95, 103, 104, 123, 125, 188
"Creator of the Waters" (prayer) 42, *51*, 52, *53*, 54, *55*, 56, 65, 66, *75*, 141, 193
healing and 144–145, 146, 148
Creed 52, *55*
cross
blowing onto 158–159
cut into ice/cut from ice 1
lighting of *40*, 41, 156
pouring of oil in sign of 159
procession with *55*, *78*
sign of 2, 51(*n*24), 52, *53*, *55*, 56, 63, 66, 158, 165
thrown/plunged into water *see* plunging of cross
tracing of, over water 71, 157, 158
wood as synonym for 58, 158, 167
Crusade, Fourth (AD 1204) 4, 5, 64
Cyril, St, of Alexandria 47

De ceremoniis 39
De Sacramentis 163–164
deacons, role of 53, *55*, 56, 68, 69, 70
demons *see* evil spirits
departure to water source 40, *40*, 53, *53*, 55, 56, 68, *78*
stages compared *74*
Desreumaux, Alan 83
Deuterokanonarion 149, 150
devil/Satan 33, 141, 142, 188
diakonika 63
discipleship 171
dismissals 39, 40, *40*
Dmitrievsky, A. 27(*n*3), 38, 48–49(*n*10), 61(*n*59), 71(*n*25), 122(*n*62)
Doxology, Great 2
dragons, evil spirits as 33, 33(*n*23), 134, 140, 141, 175
drawing/storing water 2, 17–18, 21, 23, *24*, 25, 129, 167
drinking blessed water *see* partaking of blessed waters
du Boullay, A. 30, 31(*n*18), 54, 56

Easter 186
ecological stewardship 14, 169–170, 176, 186–190, 198
Christological aspect of 187–188
creation theology and 186–187

informed by liturgy 170, 190
ecumenical dialogue 9, 11, 128
Egeria 18–19, 20, 24
Egypt 17–18, *24*, 25, 191
see also Coptic rites
ektenes 2, 34, 63, 64, *65*, 71, 72, 104–106, 126, 167, 192, 195, 196–197
anamnetic 42, 63, 77, 103, 107–108
and baptism/redemption 130–131
BAR, text of 199–200
in cathedral/monastic traditions *78*, *79*
comparison of petitions in 105–106, *105*
epicletic petition in 137–138, 196
and exorcism 140–143
healing in 143–144, 148
pastoral considerations of 173
in Prologue *112*
stages compared *74*, *75*, 76–77
Trinitarian themes in 114–115, 124
wood theme in 164–165
see also synapte
Elijah 95, 104, 151
Elisha 94, 95, 163
enarxis rite 6–7
Engberding, Hieronymus 85, 86
Ephrem 111
epiclesis 113, 125–167, 196
and anamnesis *see* anamnesis-epiclesis
consecratory 125, 128
definition/typology of 125–126
and exorcism 140–143
and gift of sanctification *see* sanctification
and healing 143–148
liturgical context of Holy Spirit in 137–140
and plunging of cross *see* plunging of cross
and reconciliation of penitents 148–150
Slavonic sources on 150–153
epiclesis of "Great are You" prayer 1, 8, 11, 52, 56, 70, 84, *86*, 90–93, 100, 103–104
and baptism/deliverance from sin 130–137
extension of *see* "epiclesis-extension"
first/second 7, 98
and gift of sanctification 153
non-pneumatic *86*, 92, *100*
pneumatic *see* pneumatic epiclesis
and spiritual gifts 128–130
text of 205
theological analysis of 126–128
"epiclesis-extension" *86*, 87, 96–97, *96*, 98, 100, *100*, 143, 153, 179
text of 206
Epiphanius of Salamis 18, *24*, 191
Epiphany 1, 7, 11, 72
early references to 18–20
eve of 1, 2, 21, 22, 57, 69, 177, 178, *178*
and "Great are You" prayer 83, 84–86
scholarship on 12(*n*43)
vigil of 19, 20, *20*, 21
Epiphany tank/basin 2
epistles 22, 40, *40*, *182*, 191
eschatology 35
Ethiopian tradition 12, 84
Eucharist 1, 19, 56, 57–58, 70, 129
and receiving blessed water 152–153
Euchologia 19, 88, 92
Barberini *see* BAR
eighteenth-century 69
monastic influence on 64–65
Stage One 27–35, 38–42
Stage Two 47, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63–65
Stage Three *67*, 71
stages compared 75, 76, 77–78
Euchologium Sinaiticum 28, 61, 62, 64, 76, 78, 92, *160*
Evergetis Typikon 48–49, *50*, 57, 61, 114(*n*30), 155, 158, 162
text from 209
everlasting life 52
evil, protection from 54, 128, 130, 140–141, 142, 145, 156, 159, 189
evil spirits 97, 128, 130
deliverance from *see* exorcism
as dragons 33, 33(*n*23), 134, 140, 141, 175
Exodus 23, *52*, 53, *55*, 94, 95, 135, 163–164
exorcism 11, 84, *86*, 91, 92, *100*, 101, 140–143, 159, 175, 194
in Armenian/West Syrian rites 141

Ezekiel, Book of *32*, *52*, 53, *55*, 69

fans 53
fasting 152
Father 9, 10, 88, 107
  bearing witness 116–117, 121
  see also Trinity/Trinitarian theology
Festal Menaion, The (trans. Mother Mary/Kallistos Ware) 1, 7(*n*28), 87(*nn*19, 20), 161(*n*159)
Feulner, Hans-Jürgen 6
Filioque 9
fire and water 43, 69, 93, 95, 106, 116, 156, 163, 167, 174, 198
  see also charcoal; coals, flaming; tapers, lighted; torches
flood, the 94, 95
Florence, Council of 48
font 83, 176, *184*
  consecration of 2
"for you are our sanctification" (intonation) 58, 63, 64, 76
fountains 37(*n*42), 88, 146
Fourth Crusade (AD 1204) 4, 5, 64

Genesis *55*, 56, 94, 95, 104, 189
George, St, martyrium church of 22
Georgian Lectionary (GL) 19–20, *20*, 21, 24, *24*, 191
Germanos, St, of Constantinople 38, *38*, 75
"glory to God in the highest" (intonation) 58, 71
"Glory to you, Christ" (Prologue) 42, 111–113, 121(*n*58), 140, 142–143, 193
  text of 210
"Glory to your inexpressible and superior grace" (prayer) 152(*n*106)
Goar, Jacques 38(*n*45), 85(*n*10), 122(*n*62), 123
"God, good and the lover of humankind" (prayer) *55*
"God great and worthy of praise" *55*
"God our God" (prayer) *34*, 35, 37, *40*, 41, 43–44, 63, *65*, 157, 163, 192
  in cathedral/monastic traditions *79*
  in contemporary worship 175, 178, *178*, 179, 183–184
  as courtyard prayer 64, 66, 72, 178
  sanctification in 154–155
  stages compared *75*, 76
  text of 207
Gospels 22, 43, *55*, 171, 191
  see also specific Gospels
grace 33, 51, 140, 154
"Great are You" prayer 1, 2, 7–8, *65*, 83–101, 191, 193–194
  addressee of 11, 123, 126, 127
  alternate prayer 85, 90
  "anamnetic doxologies" section *see* anamnetic doxologies
  angelic worship in 120–121, 123, 125
  and baptism *see* baptism in "Great are You" prayer
  in cathedral/monastic traditions *79*
  Christological emphasis in 80, 95, 103–107, 123, 125
  common to all traditions 44
  in contemporary worship 172–173, 175, 179, 183, 184, 188
  creation motifs in 88, 95, 103, 104, 123, 125
  epicletic components of *see* epiclesis of "Great are You" prayer
  exorcism in 84, *86*, 91, 92, *100*, 101
  and healing 148
  history of 8, 83–86
  imperial context of 39, 73, 99
  importance of 83
  intercessions doxology in *86*, 99, 206
  interruption in 62, 76
  origins of 8, 83, 97–101, *99–100*, 142, 194
  and penitence 148–149
  "praise anamnesis" section *see* praise anamnesis
  and solemnity of rite 54(*n*34), 56, 57, 83
  and spiritual gifts 128–130
  in Stage One sources 31, *31*, *32*, 33, 35, *38*, *40*, 43, 192
  in Stage Two sources 51, 52, *53*, 54, *55*, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 193
  in Stage Three sources 70, 71, 73
  stages compared 75, *75*, 76, 80
  structure of 86–87, *86*

text of 204–206
theological analysis of 8
Trinitarian themes in 8, 89, 94, 95, 103, 104, 114, 115, 123, 125
and Trinity 8
in West Syrian rite 66
Great Doxology 2
"Great is the Cross that Shined" (troparion) 42, 72, 73, *75*, 136, 166, 167, 192, 193, 197
and plunging of the cross 157, *160*, 161, 164, 165, 196
Greek tradition 3, 11, 84, 85, 90
Gregory of Akrita 35(*n*31)
Grottaferrata Gb IV 157, *160*, 165
Grottaferrata Gb VII 28, *29*, 41, 43, 44, 63, 73–74, 77, 78, 166, 192, 193
angelic worship in 120–121
baptismal motifs in 132, 133–134, 135, 165
epiclesis in 137, 138, 139
exorcism in 141
"Great are You" prayer in 94, 96, *96*, 97, 104
healing in 143–144, 145–146
New Testament references in 104–105
and plunging of the cross 156, *160*, 161, 164
Prologue 108, 109, 110, 115–116, 210
spiritual gifts in 130–131
Trinitarian themes in 113, 114, 115–116, 118
Grottaferrata Gb X 28, *29*, 41–42, *41–42*, 43, 44, 58, 60, 73–74, 77, 78, 113, 142, 157, 165, 166, 192, 193
creation motifs in 122
ektene/synapte in 105, *105*, 114
Prologue 108, 111, 121, 140
timing of water blessing in 177
Trinitarian themes in 114, 115, 118
Grottaferrata, monastery of 48

Habbakuk 69
Hades 110, 111, 176
Hagia Sophia, church of 27, 60, 73, 162
atrium of 37
courtyard of 37
great/little baptisteries of 36
Typikon of *see* TGC
hagiographies/hagiopolites 19–22, 24
Hakim, Caliph 4
"Hand of the Baptizer Trembled, The" *40*, 41, *75*
healing 33, 42, 52, 53–54, *75*, 76, 128, 131, 143, 143–148, 153, 154
and "Creator of the Waters" prayer 144–145, 146, 148
extra-liturgical sources on 146–147
language used for 143(*n*67)
health, gift of 93, 129, 130
"Heavenly Principles, The" (prayer) 38–39, *38*, 61, 71, 73, 113, 193
Hebrews, Book of *53*, *55*, 56
Hebrews, freedom from bondage of 93, 95
see also Israel
heortology 14, 25, 120, 194
"Holy art Thou" (acclamation) *53*, 54
Holy Cross 40 29, *29*
"holy, holy, holy" (hymn) 70, 116
Holy Sepulchre 8 (182) 67
Holy Spirit 9, 10, 11, 51, 89, 96, 97, 105, 107–108, 121, 126, 131, 161
and gift of sanctification 154, 155–156, 197
in liturgical context 137–140, 155
see also pneumatic epiclesis; Trinity/Trinitarian theology
Holy Theophany 34, 43
"Holy Things to the holy" 70(*n*23)
Holy Thursday/Holy Saturday 149
homiletics 14, 172–173, 191
homilies 17, 19, 23, 83
hûtômo 68
hymns/hymnody 2, 14, 20
festal 117–118
and plunging of the cross 160–161
in Stage One 35, *40*, 42, 44, 192
in Stage Two 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, *65*
in Stage Three 68
stages compared *74–75*, 76–77
see also Troparia
Hypakoi *20*
Hypotyposis of Theodore 60, 63, 117(*n*41)

iconoclast controversy 4
idolatry 94, 133(*n*28), 134

illumination *see* light
in persona Christi/*in nomine Christi* 10, 11
incense 2(*n*5), 21, *30*, 31, *51*, *53*, *55*, 58, 59, 69, *78*
inclination of Christ's head 104, 106, 107, 108
inclination, prayers of 2, *34*, 35, 43, 63, *65*, 154
  in cathedral/monastic traditions *79*
  stages compared *75*, 76
incorruption 1, *72*, 84, 90, 92–93, 109, 121, 133, 134, 136, 143
initiation rites 12
Isaiah, Book of 40, 42, 44, *65*, 104
  1:16-20 20
  9:1-12 69
  11:11-12:6 *52*, 53
  12:1-6 20, *20*, *55*
  12:3-6 *32*, 36
  35:1-10 36
  35:2 69
  40:1-5 69
  55:1-13 36, *182*
Israel 133, 135(*n*32), 163
"it is meet and right" 70
Italy 5, 28, *29*, 41, 48, *50*, 123

Jacob, André 42, 48(*n*7), 144, 145
Jacob of Edessa 54, 56
Jacob of Sarug/Serug 110–111, 128(*n*11), 136(*n*35), 163, 176(*n*22)
Jacob's rod 104, 164
James, St. 47(*n*5), 52
Jerusalem 18–21, *24*, 25, 191
  Persian invasion of (AD 614) 4
Jerusalem Holy Cross 52 158
Jesus *see* Christ
John the Baptist 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 116, 160
John Chrysostom, St 17–18, 24, *24*, 88, 129, *151*, *152*, 191
John Damascene 8–9
John the deacon 149, 153
John the Faster 148, 153
John, Gospel of *30*, 31, *53*, *55*, 56, 66, 95
  2:1-11 *184*, 185
  4:4-42 68
  4:5-12 (Samaritan woman and Jesus) 68, 69, 80, 192, 193, 198
Jordan, River
  blessing of 128, 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 154
  contemporary issues surrounding 169–170
  see also baptism of Jesus
Jordan, Robert H. 48(*n*10)
Judges *55*, 56

kanonaria 149, 150, 152, 153
Khouri-Sarkis, Gabriel 30, 31(*n*18), 54, 56
Kings, I 104
Kings, II *32*, *52*, 53, 163
Kodinos, George (pseud.) 39, 72–74, 99
Kyrie 69–70, 180

Last Supper 10
Lathrop, Gordon 186–187
Latin blessing of waters 84
laying on of hands 134
lectionaries 19–21, 24
Lent 176
"let my mouth be filled" (intonation) 71
"Let Us the Faithful" (hymn) 63, 155–156
  text of 209
"Let us stand aright..." (announcement of prayer) *55*
Liber Festivus 159
light 2(*n*5), 20, 21, 23, *24*, 25, 51, 88, 104, 106, 112, 122, 133, 167, 175
  children of 131
  Christ and 43, 107
  and plunging of the cross 161–163
  prayers of *40*
  and Trinity 72
"Lingua Phari" 48, 62
litanic biddings 2
liturgy, effect on water of 17–18
local practices 4, 5–6, 31, 61, 62–63, 74, 77, 78, 79
Logos 9, 126
Logos epiclesis 125
"loosing" 153
"Lord God almighty" (prayer) 90, 92
"Lord God of our fathers who blesses and sanctifies all things" (Prologue) 71

"Lord is my light" (prokeimenon) 61
"Lord, Jesus Christ" (prayer) 2, *34*, *40*, 43, 61, 63, *65*, 71, *74*, 75, *78*, 107–108, 126, 154, 161, 167
in contemporary worship 173–174, 175, 182–183, *182*
text of 201
"Lord, open my lips" (intonation) 71
"Lord our God" (prayer) 151(*n*105)
Luke, Gospel of 42

McDonnell, Kilian 110–111
McKenna, John 125–126
Magi 181, 184, 185
magic/sorcery 54
magnificat *55*
Mainstone, Rowland 36
Majeska, George 146–147
Malachi (Thessalonikan monk) 147–148
manuum lotionis 20
Marian feasts 180
Mark, Gospel of 20, *20*, *40*, 61, 171
in contemporary worship *182*, 183, *184*
Maronite rites 3, *67*, 68–69, 79, 80, 167, 194, 196
plunging of the cross in 159, *160*, 161, 162–163, 193
Martyrium Church 19, 22
Marutha of Tagrit 23, *24*, 164, 191
Mateos, Juan 36, 36(*n*35), 37, 162
Mathews, Thomas 36, 37(*n*42)
Matins 2, 21, 55(*n*37)
Matthew, Gospel of 32, *32*, 68(*n*18), 69, *184*
mawerbo *55*
Menaia 1–2(*n*3), 58
Messina 48, 49
Messina 115 49, *50*, 57, 58, 58(*n*48), 61, 62, 63, 64, 71(*n*26), 151
Michael the Great, Pontifical of 50, 54–57, *55*
Migne, J. 49(*n*14), 60, 63, 117(*n*41)
Mirskiy *Potrebnyk* 151
Missal 27, 181
monastery of our Lord (Messina) 48, 62, 64(*n*67)
monastic hegemony 3, 4
monastic tradition 22, 48, 58, 61
and cathedral tradition, compared 77–79, *78–79*
development of 66, 132, 158, 192–193
penitence and 149–150
see also Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition
Moravia *29*
Moscow Euchologia 151
Moscow *Potrebnyk* 151
Moses 23, 106, 163–164, 165
myron, consecration of 159, 165
myrrh 11, *32*, 33, 44, 80, 159, 196

Nativity feast 149, 181
nave 2, 69, 149
sprinkling of 72(*n*28), 157
Nazianzus, Gregory 13
neo-Sabaitic synthesis 5
New Testament 22, 32, *52*, 53, 56, 61, *75*, 106, 107
in "Great are You" prayer 89, 90, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104
see also specific books
Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed 107, 161
Nikolsky, Konstantin 150–151
Nikon of the Black Mountain 149
Nile, River 25
Noah 94, 104
North American Catholic-Orthadox Theological Consultation (2003) 9
Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136 48(*n*9), *50*

"O Creator of the Waters" *see* "Creator of the Waters"
"O Living God" (prayer) *32*, 33, 141
"O Lord of Every Nature" (prayer) *51*, 52, 113(*n*26)
"O Lord God Almighty" (prayer) 85
"O Lord God of our fathers" (prayer) 53, *53*
"O Lord God, thou mighty One" (prayer) *53*, 54
"O Lord Jesus Christ" (prayer) 38, *38*
"O Maker of the Worlds" (prayer) 51–52, *51*, 113(*n*26)
Okhrid *29*
Old Testament 22, 32, 33, 53, 55, 68(*n*18), 69, 76, 107, 173

in "Great are You prayer" 95, 103, 104, 127
see also specific books
ordination 127
organic development, Baumstark's law of 78
Orthros 37, 41, 57, 58, 132, 149, 177

Palestine 4, 147, 148
Stage Two sources from *50*, 60
Palestinian rite 3, 5, 27, 39, 43, 44, 47, 60, 63, 77
Palestinian-Sabaitic tradition 5, 49
paradise, restoration to 132, 133, 135
paradox of the periphery, law of 74, 77, 78, 193
Paramii, Bulgarian book of 60
paramone 35, 41, 58, 172, 177
Parenti, Stefano 28
Paris Coislin 213 47, *50*, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 88, 92, *96*, 97, 115, 137, 158
partaking of blessed waters 2, 23, 70, 93, 129–130, 144, 146, 167, 186, 205
penitence and 149
sanctification and 155
Pascha 113, 149, 160, 163, 165
passions, healing/avoidance of 1, 52, 129, 130, 151(*n*105), 154
Passover 94
pastoral considerations 169–190, 191, 197–198
Anglican rite 184–186
of baptism of Jesus 171–172
of baptismal blessings 175–176
divine presence in water 173–174
ecological stewardship *see* ecological stewardship
and "Great are You" prayer 172–173
order for water blessing 179, *179*
Roman Catholic *see* Roman Catholic Church
timing/location of water blessing 177–178, *178*
Patmos 104 *50*, 63, 64, *160*
Patmos 105 *50*, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, *160*
Patmos 266 29, *29*
Patmos 719 *50*, 107
Paul, St. 95
see also Corinthians, I; epistles
Paul the Silentiary 37(*n*42)
peace *32*, *34*, 51, 52
pearl, Christ as *72*, 136(*nn*34, 35)
penitence 148–150, 153, 167, 176
Pentkovsky, A. 48(*n*9)
Peppard, Christiana 169–170
Persian invasion of Jerusalem (AD 614) 4
Petras, David 48(*n*9)
Philip 10
Philokalu, monastery at 147–148
Philoxenus 47(*n*5), 52
Photius, Patriarch 8
pilgrims 17, 18–19, 21, 37(*n*42)
"Plerotheto" 39
plunging of cross 1, 2, 11, 37(*n*42), 42(*n*60), 69, *79*, 193, 196–197, 198
baptism theme in 160–161, 171
and epiclesis/Holy Spirit 156–166
light theme in 161–163, 165
liturgical context of 159–161, *160*
pastoral considerations of 174
in Stage One 156–157
in Stage Two 62–63, 64, *65*, 66, 192
stages compared *75*, 76, 77
in Typika 156–157
wood theme in 161, 163–165
pneumatic epiclesis 10, 51–52, 85, 86, 90, 91, *91*, 97, 98, 99, *99*, 100–101, *100*, 156, 194
poetic "todays" 109, 111, *112*, 166
baptism/deliverance from sin in 132–133, 134–135, *134*
epicletic allusions in 138–139
exorcism in 141
in Stage Two sources *32*, 33, *38*, 39, *40*, 44, *79*
in Stage Three sources 68, 69, 71
stages compared *74*, 77
Trinitarian themes in 115–116
Pontifical of Michael the Great *50*, 54–57, *55*, 159
pontificals *50*, 54–57
Potrebnyk 151
praise anamnesis 7, 11, *86*, 87, 88–90, *88*, 95, *99*, 100, 101, 103, 166, 194
in contemporary worship 171, 172, 173, 188

text of 204–205
threefold recitation 88
prayers 13, 14, *31*, *32*, 33, 69–70, 71
addressing Christ/Trinity 9–11
addressing Father 10
antiquity of 57
of apology *see* "Heavenly Principles, The"; "Uncreated Trinity"
courtyard 37, 63, 64–65
diakonika 63
"Great are You" *see* "Great are You"
hûtômo 68
of inclination *see* inclination, prayers of
sacerdotal 4
silent/quiet 2, 22, 34, 38, *38*, *40*, 61, 104
stages compared *74–75*, 77
Trinitarian 42
prehistorical period 3, 17–25
overview *24*, 25
fourth century (Antioch/Egypt) 17–18
fourth to eighth centuries (Jerusalem) 18–21
sixth century (Asia Minor) 21–22
seventh century (Syria) 23–24
preparatory rites 6, *30*, *51*, *55*
Presanctified Gifts, Liturgy of 106
procession 43
Proclus, bishop of Constantinople 12, 30, *31*
proimion/sedro *55*
Prokeimenon 40, *40*, 42, 44, 61, *74*, *75*, 104
Prologue 2, *40*, 41, 44, 61–62, 64, 66, 71, 166
angelic worship in 120–121
baptism/deliverance from sin in 135
BAR, text of 202–203
in cathedral/monastic traditions *78*
Christological motifs in 108–111, 124
in contemporary worship 179
epicletic petitions in 138–139
exorcism in 142
light theme in 161
stages compared *74*, 75, 76–77, 192
Trinitarian themes in 115–117, 124
variants 111–113, 142–143, 210
prophets 22, 32, *40*, 60–61, 62, *75*, 191
prosthesis rite 6–7
Protokanonarion 149, 150
Psalms/psalmody 22, 41–42, 44, *55*, *74*, 77, *112*, 135, 162, 191
29 *32*
31 37
50 *151*
77 *52*, 68
93 *32*
113 20, *20*, 69
in contemporary worship *182*, 183
Pseudo-Kodinos, George *see* Kodinos, George (pseud.)
Puniet de, P. 12, 13
purification 114, 124, 129–130, 143–144, 148, 154, 156, 167
in "Great are You" prayer *92*, *96*, 98

qólo 68

readings
in cathedral/monastic traditions *78*
see also New Testament; Old Testament
redemption 7, 52, 54, 105, 106, 107, 109, 133, 154
in "Great are You" prayer 128, 130, 131–132
regeneration 11
Renoux, Athanase 19
repentance *24*
restoration to state of goodness 23, 24
Ricoeur, Paul 13
Risen Christ 113
rock, cleaving of 94, 95, 188
rods 104, 164, 165
Roman Catholic Church 11(*n*42), 14, 180–184
proposed rite for 182–184, *182*, 186
Roman liturgical influence 6
Rossano (Italy) 28, 41
Russia/Russian Orthadox rites 3, 146–147, 150–153, *151*, 167, 196

S, Add. 17218 85
Sabaitic practices 49
see also Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition

Sabas, St, monastery of (Palestine) 147
safro 55(*n*37)
salvation 51–52, 56, 103, 104, 111, 123–124, 163, 171, 176
  and illumination 23
  wells of 20
Samaritan woman, Johanine account of 66, 68, 69, 80, 192, 193, 198
San Lazaro 457 27–28, *29*, 31–33, *32*, 44, 58, 75, 84, 94, 99, 122, 135, 139, 141, 159, *160*, 166, 192
San Salvatore, monastery of (Messina) 49, *50*
sanctification 153–156, 197
  defined 155
  of the home 154
Sanctificatorum 20
Sanctified Water, Rite of Communion of 151–153, *151–152*
Sanctus 87, 89, 116
Satan 33, 141, 142, 188
Sauget, J.-M. 68, 69(*n*18)
Savior Philanthropos, Church of (Constantinople) 146
Scheidt, Hubert 84–85, 86, 194
schisms, healing of 54(*n*34)
second blessing of water 2, 3
seraphim 87(*n*19), 88, *88*, 116, 121
Serbian Euchologia/Trenyks 13, 105(*n*4), 164–165
Sergius, Pope 180
Severus of Antioch 47, 47(*n*5), 52
sign of the cross 2
sin
  deliverance from *see* redemption
  penitence for 148–150, 153, 167, 176
Sinai 150 29
Sinai 330 48(*n*9), *50*
Sinai 956 27–28, *29*, 156
Sinai 957 27, *29*, 38–39, *38*, 43, 44, 61, 64, 73, 99, 115, 122, 137, 156
  exorcism in 141, 142
  healing in 143
Sinai 958 27–28, *29*, 39–41, *40*, 43, 44, 59, 60, 65, 115, 141, 192
  healing in 144
  plunging of the cross in 156–157, 161
Sinai 959 47, *50*, 131, 138
Sinai 961 *50*, 88
Sinai 962 *50*, 131, 154
Sinai 966 *50*, 59, 60, 61, 118(*n*43), 154, *160*
Sinai 971 61, *67*, 131
Sinai 973 47–48, *50*, 59, 61, 104, 160, *160*, 166
  exorcism in 142
  healing in 144
  spiritual gifts in 130, 131, 132
  Trinitarian themes in 114–115
Sinai 974 *67*, 72, 73, 78, 88, 105, 139, *160*, 165, 166, 193
  Prologues 109, 110, 111, *112*, 113, 120(*n*52), 121, 140, 142
Sinai 980 *67*
Sinai 983 *67*, 72
Sinai 991 *67*, 71–72, *72*, 73, 78, 105, 131, 136, *160*, 165, 166, 193
Sinai 1036 *50*, 59, 60–61, 142, 155
Sinai 1094 49, *50*, 57, 58(*n*46), 61, 62, 63, 64, 76, 155, 158
Sinai 1096 49, *50*, 57, 64, 71(*n*26)
Sinai Slavonic Euchologion 12–13
Six Mile Lake (Alaska) 190
skeuophylakion 36
Slavonic Euchologion 12–13, 28
Slavonic sources 150–153
solemnity 17, 18(*n*5), 21, 24, 31, 54(*n*34), 56–57, 66, 80, 83, 198
Son, the 9, *32*, *51*, *53*, 68, 89, 90, 104, 105
sons, adoption of 107
Sophia, St. cathedral of (Novgorod) 48(*n*9)
soteriological theme *see* salvation
spiritual cleansing/sustenance 2, 7, 23
"spring of blessing/incorruption" 92–93
sprinkling of water *34*, 35, 63, *65*, 68, 69, *75*, 77, *79*, 130, 146, 156–157, 158, 167, 196
  in contemporary rites 174, 182, *182*, 185, *185*, 186
  onto nave 72(*n*28), 157
Stage One (eighth to tenth centuries) 3, 27–45, 191–192
  ektene/synapte in 43
  elements common across traditions in 44
  exorcism/protection from evil in 142

New Testament readings in 32, 40, 44, 76
overview of *29*, *74*, 76, 192
plunging of the cross in 156–157
Stage Two (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) 3, 4, 47–66, 192–193
Byzantine sources 49, 57–65, *65*
developments from Stage One 61–66, *65*, 76–77
hymns/readings in 60–61
monastic influence in 64–66
overview of *74*
plunging of the cross in 62–63, 64, *65*, 66, 156–157, 165
prologues in 61–62, 64
Studite-Sabaitic monastic influence in 65–66, 76
West Syrian sources 49, 51–57, 63, 66
Stage Three (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) 3, 4, 67–81, 165, 192, 193
baptismal themes in 136
Byzantine sources 71–74
Kodinos treatise 72–74
Coptic sources 69–70
developments from earlier stages in 77, 78, 79
elements of earlier stages in 69, 73, 73–74, 77–79, *78–79*
elements of Stage One in 69, 73–74, 193
elements of Stage Two in 69, 193
Maronite sources 68–69
overview of *67*, *74*
storing blessed water *see* drawing/storing blessed water
Studite-Sabaitic monastic tradition 3, 4–5, 13, 155, 156, 158, 191, 192
hegemony of 78
Stage One sources 28, *29*
Stage Two sources 47, 48–49, *50*, 57–58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65–66
Stage Three sources *67*
stages compared 76, 78, 79
timing of water blessing in 177
Sykeon 21–22, 191
synapte 2, 34, 35, 36, 38, *40*, 43, 44, 61, 63, *65*, 103, 104, 106–107, 108, 137, 167, 195
and baptism/redemption 130, 131–132
in cathedral/monastic traditions *78*
epicletic petition in 137–138, 196
and exorcism 140–143
Great 180
healing in 143–144, 148
stages compared *74*, 76–77
Trinitarian themes in 114–115, 124
see also ektenes
Syriac liturgy *see* Maronite rites
Syrian tradition 12, 167, 191
of baptism 84, 85, 110–111, 176
prehistory of 23–24, *24*, 25
see also West Syrian rites

Taft, Robert 4–5, 5(*n*17), 6, 74, 77, 78, 113(*n*113), 193
Taktikon 149
Talley, Thomas 18, 25
tapers, lighted 69, 70(*n*21), 159, 161
temptation, protection from 2
TGC (Typikon of the Great Church) 28–29, 35–37, 40, 41, 43, 60, 126, 162, 192
August 1 rite in 158
baptism and 36–37, 117, 136
"God our God" in 37, 44
Jordan divided (Joshua 3:7-17) in 172
prophets in 61
stages compared *74*, 75, *75*, 76
Trinitarian themes in 117
Theodore of Studios 49, 60, 63
Theodore of Sykeon 5, 21–22
Theophany *see* Epiphany
Thessalonians, I 68
Thessalonika 147–148
"Today the Trinity" (hymn) 63, 117, 174
text of 208
torches 11, *30*, 31, *51*, 58, 59, *78*, 171, 174
TPA (Typikon of Patriarch Alexis) 48, 57, 58, 158
Trebnyks 13, 105(*n*4), 150(*n*99), 151, 153, 164–165
Trempelas, P. 88, 118, 118(*n*44), 161(*n*161)
Trinity-St. Sergius monastery (Russia) 146–147
Trinity/Trinitarian theology 8–11, 14, 34, 42, 68, 72, 114–120, 124, 141

complementary to Christology 124, 125, 195–196
in festal hymns 117–118
in "Great are You" prayer 8, 89, 94, 95, 103, 104, 114, 123
monarchical priority in 10–11
pastoral considerations of 174–175
and perichoresis 128
and pneumatic epicelsis 128
Prologue dedicated to *see* "Uncreated Trinity"
see also Father; Holy Spirit; Son
Trisagion 41, 61, 69, 104
Troparia
baptismal themes in 135–136, 156–157, 161
in cathedral/monastic traditions *78*, *79*
light theme in 162
in Russian Orthadox rite *151*
in Stage One sources *34*, 35, 36, 37, 40, *40*, *41–42*, 44, 192
in Stage Two sources 59–60, 63, *65*
in Stage Three sources 72, *72*, 73
stages compared *74*, 76
Trinitarian themes in 117–118
Turin 216 58(*n*45)
Typika 19, 27, 28–29, 152, 155–156
ektenes in 64
from Stage Two 57–58, 61, 63, 64–65, *65*
from Stage Three *67*
plunging of the cross in 157–158
prologues in 62, 65
stages compared 76, 78
Typikon of the Great Church *see* TGC
Typikon of Patriarch Alexis (TPA) 48, 57, 58, 158

"Uncreated Trinity" (Prologue) 8, *34*, 39, 42, 71, 73, *74*, 76, 77, 118–120, 195
and "Glory to You, Christ" 111, *112*
pastoral considerations of 174–175
text of 202

Vatican Greek 1877 49, *50*, 57, 58, 151
Vatican II 180, 181
Vaticanus Syriacus 51 54
Vaticanus Syriacus 312 68
Vatopedi 322 49, *67*, 158
Velkovska, Elena 13, 28
Vespers 1, 2, 19, 20, 35, 41, 57, 149, 173, 177–178
vestments 58
Vidalis, Markos 13, 86, 89–90, 97(*n*62), 127(*n*10)
Vigil 19, 20, *20*, 21, *24*, 177
Virgin, Monastery of the (Pege, Constantinople) 147
"Voice of the Lord" (Troparion) 117(*n*41), 156, 192, 197
in contemporary worship *179*, *182*
in Stage One 36, 37, 40, *40*, 42, 44, *75*
in Stage Two 59–60, *59*, 63, 64, *65*
text of 208

water, blessing of *see* blessing of the waters
water pollution 170, 190
water vessels 53(*n*32)
bottle *51*, *55*
bowl 37, 43, 59(*n*51), 63
covered with veil *53*
tank/basin 2, 69
vase 68
"Waters Saw Thee, The" (Ps. 77.16) *52*
"We Glorify You" (prologue) 41, 61, 62, 64, 71, *74*, 76, 77
wells 20, 147, 169
West Syrian rites 1, 6, 163, 194
and Byzantine rite 5–6, 44
exorcism in 141
festal anamnesis in 128
and "Great are You" prayer 7, 83, 94, 99, 100
Greek influence on 5(*n*19)
healing in 144
liturgical components of 2, 3
sign of the cross in 159, 196
Stage One sources 27, 29, *29*, 30–31, 42
Stage Two sources 47, 49, *50*, 51–57, 66, 113, 193
and Stage Three rites, influence on 69
stages compared 79, 80
Western Churches 14
see also Anglican Church; Roman Catholic Church

"When You were Baptized" (hymn) *40*, 41, 42, 60, 63, *65*, 72, 73, *75*, *79*, *151*, 159(*152*)
  text of 208
  Trinitarian theme of 117, 160, 174
Winkler, Gabriele 43, 161, 162
  wisdom, gift of 35
  wood 23, 58, 59(*n*52), 163–165, 171, 174
  Word/Logos 9, 126

Zosima 146–147

This page has been left blank intentionally